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THE

LIFE

OF

M. TULLIUS CICERO.

BY CONYERS MIDDLETON, D. D.
PRINCIPAL LIBRARIAN
TO THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

Hunc igitur spectemus. Hoc propositum sit nobis exemplum.
Ille se profecisse sciat, cui Cicero valde placebit.
QUINTIL. INSTIT. l. x. 1.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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1819.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Cos.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

opportunities of raising money were as immense as their power, and bounded only by their own appetites: the appointments from the treasury, for their equipage, plate, and necessary furniture, amounted as it appears from some instances, to near a hundred and fifty thousand pounds:* and besides the revenues of kingdoms, and pay of armies, of which they had the arbitrary management, they could exact what contributions they pleased, not only from the cities of their own jurisdiction, but from all the states and princes around them, who were under the protection of Rome. But while their primary care was to enrich themselves, they carried out with them always a band of hungry friends and dependents, as their lieutenants, tribunes, præfects, with a crew of freedmen and favourite slaves, who were all likewise to be enriched by the spoils of the province, and the sale of their master's favours. Hence flowed all those accusations and trials for the plunder of the subjects, of which we read so much in the Roman writers: for as few or none of the proconsuls behaved themselves with that exact justice, as to leave no room for complaint, so the factions of the city, and the quarrels of families, subsisting from former impeachments, generally excited some or other to revenge the affront in kind, by undertaking the cause of an injured province, and dressing up an impeachment against their enemy.

But whatever benefit or glory this government seemed to offer, it had no charms for Cicero: the thing itself was disagreeable to his temper,† nor worthy of those talents, which were formed to sit at the helm, and shine in the administration of the whole Republic: so that he considered it only as an

* Nonne H. S. centies et octagies—quasi vasarii nomine—ex ærario tibi attributum, Romæ in quæstu reliquisti? in Pison. 35.

† Totum negotium non est dignum viribus nostris, qui majora onera in Rep. sustinere et possim et soleam. Ep. Fam. 2. xi.

O rem minime aptam meis moribus, &c. Ad Att. 5. 10.

Sed est incredibile, quam me negotii tædeat, non habet satis magnum campum ille tibi non ignotus cursus animi mei. Ib. 15.

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honourable exile, or a burthen imposed by his country, to which his duty obliged him to submit. His first care, therefore, was to provide, that this command might not be prolonged to him beyond the usual term of a year; which was frequently done, when the necessities of the province, the character of the man, the intrigues of parties, or the hurry of other business at home, left the senate neither leisure nor inclination to think of changing the governor: and this was more likely to happen at present, through the scarcity of magistrates, who were now left capable, by the late law, of succeeding him. Before his departure, therefore, he solicited all his friends not to suffer such a mortification to fall upon him; and, after he was gone, scarce wrote a single letter to Rome, without urging the same requests, in the most pressing terms: in his first to Atticus, within three days from their parting: "Do not imagine," says he, "that I have any other consolation in this "great trouble, than the hopes that it will not be "continued beyond the year: many who judge of "me by others, do not take me to be in earnest; but "you, who know me, will use all your diligence, es-"pecially when the affair is to come on."*

He left the city about the first of May, attended by his brother and their two sons: for Quintus had quitted his commission under Cæsar, in order to accompany him into Cilicia, in the same capacity of his lieutenant. Atticus had desired him, before he left Italy, to admonish his brother, to shew more complaisance and affection to his wife Pomponia, who had been complaining to him of her husband's peevishness and churlish carriage; and, lest Cicero should forget it, he put him in mind again, by a letter to him on the road, that, since all the family were to be together in the country, on this occasion of his

* Noli putare mihi aliam consolationem esse hujus ingentis molestiæ, nisi quod spero non longiorem annua fore. Hoc me ita velle multi non credunt ex consuetudine aliorum. Tu qui scis, omnem diligentiam adhibebis; tum scilicet, cum id agi debebit. Ib. 3.

going abroad, he would persuade Quintus to leave his wife, at least, in good humour at their parting: in relation to which, Cicero sends him the following account of what passed:

"When I arrived at Arpinum, and my brother "was come to me, our first and chief discourse was "on you; which gave me an opportunity of falling "upon the affair of your sister, which you and I had "talked over together at Tusculum: I never saw "any thing so mild and moderate as my brother was "without giving the least hint of his ever having "had any real cause of offence from her. The "next morning we left Arpinum; and that day "being a festival, Quintus was obliged to spend it at "Arcanum, where I dined with him, but went on "afterwards to Aquinum. You know this villa of "his: as soon as we came thither, Quintus said to his "wife, in the civilest terms, Do you, Pomponia, in-"vite the women, and I will send to the men: (no-"thing, as far as I saw, could be said more obligingly, "either in his words or manner:) to which she re-"plied, so as we all might hear it, I am but a stran-"ger here myself: referring, I guess, to my brother's "having sent Statius before us to order the dinner: "upon which, See, says my brother to me, what I "am forced to bear every day. This, you will say, "was no great matter. Yes, truly, great enough to "give me much concern; to see her reply so absurd-"ly and fiercely, both in her words and looks; but "I dissembled my uneasiness. When we sat down "to dinner, she would not sit down with us: and "when Quintus sent her several things from the "table, she sent them all back: in short, nothing "could be milder than my brother, or ruder than "your sister: yet I omit many particulars, which "gave more trouble to me than to Quintus him-"self. I went away to Aquinum; he staid at Ar-"canum: but when he came to me early the next "morning, he told me, that she refused to lie with

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" him that night; and, at their parting, continued in " the same humour in which I had seen her. In a " word, you may let her know, from me, that, in my " opinion, the fault was all on her side that day. I " have been longer, perhaps, than was necessary, in " my narrative, to let you see, that there is occasion " also, on your part, for advice and admonition."*

One cannot help observing, from this little incident, what is confirmed by innumerable instances in the Roman story, that the freedom of a divorce, which was indulged without restraint at Rome, to the caprice of either party, gave no advantage of comfort to the matrimonial state; but, on the contrary, seems to have encouraged rather a mutual perverseness and obstinacy; since, upon any little disgust, or obstruction given to their follies, the expedient of a change was ready always to flatter them with the hopes of better success in another trial: for there never was an age or country, where there was so profligate a contempt and violation of the nuptial bond, or so much lewdness and infidelity, in the great of both sexes, as at this time in Rome.

Cicero spent a few days, as he passed forward, at his Cuman villa, near Baiæ, where there was such a resort of company to him, that he had, he says, a kind of a little Rome about him: Hortensius came among the rest, though much out of health, to pay his compliments, and wish him a good voyage; and, at taking leave, when he asked what commands he had for him in his absence, Cicero begged of him only to use all his authority, to hinder his government from being prolonged to him.† In sixteen days from Rome, he arrived at Tarentum, where he had promised to make a visit to Pompey, who was taking the benefit of that soft air, for the recovery of

* Ad Att. 5. 1.

† In Cumano cum essem, venit ad me, quod mihi pergratum fuit, noster Hortensius: cui, deposcenti mea mandata, cætera universe mandavi; illud proprie, ne pateretur, quantum esset in ipso, prorogari nobis provinciam—habuimus in Cumano quasi pusillam Romam: tanta erat in his locis multitudo. Ib. 2.

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his health, at one of his villas in those parts; and had invited and pressed Cicero to spend some days with him upon his journey: they proposed great satisfaction on both sides from this interview, for the opportunity of conferring together, with all freedom, on the present state of the Republic, which was to be their subject: though Cicero expected, also, to get some lessons of the military kind, from this renowned commander. He promised Atticus an account of this conference; but the particulars being too delicate to be communicated by letter, he acquainted him only, in general, that he found Pompey an excellent citizen, and provided for all events which could possibly be apprehended. *

After three days' stay with Pompey, he proceeded to Brundisium, where he was detained for twelve days, by a slight indisposition, and the expectation of his principal officers, particularly of his lieutenant Pontinius, an experienced leader, the same who had triumphed over the Allobroges, and on whose skill he chiefly depended in his martial affairs. From Brundisium, he sailed to Actium, on the fifteenth of June; whence, partly by sea, and partly by land, he arrived at Athens on the twenty-sixth.† Here he lodged in the house of Aristus, the principal professor of the Academy; and his brother not far from him, with Xeno, another celebrated philosopher of Epicurus's school; they spent their time very agreeably; at home, in philosophical disquisitions; abroad, in viewing the buildings and antiquities of the place, with which Cicero was much de-

* Nos Tarenti, quos cum Pompeio διαλόγους de Repub. habuerimus ad te perscribemus. Ib. 5.

Tarentum veni a. d. xv Kal. Jun. quod Pontinium statueram expectare, commodissimum duxi dies eos—cum Pompeio consumere; eoque magis, quod ei gratum esse id videbam, qui etiam a me peticrit, ut secum et apud se essem quotidie: quod concessi libenter, multos enim ejus præclaros de Repub. sermones accipiam: instruar etiam consiliis idoneis ad hoc nostrum negotium. Ib. 6.

Ego, cum triduum cum Pompeio et apud Pompeium fuissem, proficiscebar Brundisium.—Civem illum egregium relinquebam, et ad hæc, quæ timentur, propulsanda paratissimum. Ib. 7.

† Ad Att. 5. 8, 9.

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lighted: there were several other men of learning, both Greeks and Romans, of the party; especially Gallus Caninius; and Patro, an eminent Epicurean, and intimate friend of Atticus.*

There lived at this time, in exile, at Athens, C. Memmius, banished upon a conviction of bribery, in his suit for the consulship; who, the day before Cicero's arrival, happened to go away to Mitylene. The figure which he had borne in Rome, gave him great authority in Athens; and the council of Areopagus had granted him a piece of ground to build upon; where Epicurus formerly lived, and where there still remained the old ruins of his walls. But this grant had given great offence to the whole body of the Epicureans, to see the remains of their master in danger of being destroyed. They had written to Cicero, at Rome, to beg him to intercede with Memmius, to consent to a revocation of it; and now at Athens, Xeno and Patro renewed their instances, and prevailed with him to write about it, in the most effectual manner; for though Memmius had laid aside his design of building, the Areopagites would not recal their decree without his leave.† Cicero's letter is drawn with much art and accuracy: he laughs at the trifling zeal of these philosophers, for the old rubbish and paltry ruins of their founder, yet earnestly presses Memmius, to indulge them in a prejudice, contracted through weakness, not wickedness; and, though he professes an utter dislike of their philosophy, yet he recommends them, as honest, agreeable, friendly men, for whom he entertained the highest esteem.‡ From this letter one

* Valde me Athenæ delectarunt: urbs duntaxat, et urbis ornamentum, et hominum amores in te, et in nos quædam benevolentia; sed multum et philosophia—si quid est, est in Aristo apud quem eram, nam Xenonem tuum—Quinto concesseram —Ad Att. 5. x. Ep. Fam. 2. 8. 13. 1,

† Visum est Xenoni, et post, ipsi Patroni, me ad Memmium scribere, qui pridie, quam ego Athenas veni, Mitylenas profectus erat,—non enim dubitabat Xeno, quin ab Areopagitis invito Memmio impetrari non posset. Memmius autem ædificandi consilium abjecisset, sed erat Patroni iratus, itaque scripsi ad eum accurate. Ad Att. 5. 11.

‡ Ep. Fam. 13. 1.

may observe, that the greatest difference in philosophy made no difference of friendship among the great of these times. There was not a more declared enemy to Epicurus's doctrine than Cicero: he thought it destructive of morality, and pernicious to society; but he charged this consequence to the principles, not the professors, of them; with many of whom he held the strictest intimacy, and found them to be worthy, virtuous, generous friends, and lovers of their country: there is a jocose letter to Trebatius, when he was with Cæsar in Gaul, upon his turning Epicurean, which will help to confirm this reflection.

CICERO TO TREBATIUS.

"I WAS wondering, why you had given over "writing to me; till Pansa informed me that you "were turned Epicurean. O rare camp! what would "you have done if I had sent you to Tarentum, in- "stead of Samarobriva? I began to think the worse "of you, ever since you made my friend Seius your "pattern. But with what face will you now pre- "tend to practise the law, when you are to do every "thing for your own interest, and not for your cli- "ents? and what will become of that old form and "test of fidelity; as true men ought to act truly "with one another? what law will you allege for "the distribution of common right, when nothing "can be common with those who measure all things "by their pleasure? with what face can you swear "by Jupiter; when Jupiter, you know, can never "be angry with any man? and what will become of "your people of Ulubræ; since you do not allow a "wise man to meddle with politics? wherefore, if "you are really gone off from us, I am sorry for it: "but if it be convenient to pay this compliment to "Pansa, I forgive you; on condition, however, that "you write me word what you are doing, and what

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"you would have me do for you here."* The change of principles in Trebatius, though equivalent in effect to a change of religion with us, made no alteration in Cicero's affection for him. This was the dictate of reason to the best and wisest of the heathens; and may serve to expose the rashness of those zealots who, with the light of a most Divine and benevolent religion, are perpetually insulting and persecuting their fellow Christians, for differences of opinion, which, for the most part, are merely speculative, and without any influence on life, or the good and happiness of civil society.

After ten days spent at Athens, where Pontinius at last joined him, Cicero set sail towards Asia. Upon leaving Italy, he had charged his friend Cœlius with the task of sending him the news of Rome; which Cœlius performed very punctually, in a series of letters which make a valuable part in the collection of his familiar epistles; they are polite and entertaining; full of wit and spirit; yet not flowing with that easy turn and elegance of expression, which we always find in Cicero's. The first of them, with Cicero's answer, will give us a specimen of the rest.

M. CŒLIUS TO M. CICERO.

"According to my promise at parting, to send "you an account of all the news of the town, I have "provided one to collect it for you so punctually, "that I am afraid, lest you should think my dili- "gence at last too minute: but I know how curious "you are; and how agreeable it is to all, who are "abroad, to be informed of every thing that passes "at home, though ever so trifling. I beg of you, "however, not to condemn me of arrogance, for "deputing another to this task; since, as busy as "I now am; and as lazy as you know me to be in "writing, it would be the greatest pleasure to me,

* Ep. Fam. 7. 12.

" to be employed in any thing that revives the remem-
" brance of you: but the packet itself, which I have
" sent, will, I imagine, readily excuse me: for what
" leisure would it require, not only to transcribe,
" but to attend even to the contents of it? there are
" all the decrees of the senate, edicts, plays, ru-
" mours: if the sample does not please you, pray
" let me know it, that I may not give you trouble
" at my cost. If any thing important happens in
" the Republic, above the reach of these hackney
" writers, I will send you an account of it myself;
" in what manner it was transacted; what specula-
" tions are raised upon it; what effects apprehend-
" ed: at present, there is no great expectation of
" any thing: as to those rumours, which were so
" warm at Cumæ, of assembling the colonies be-
" yond the Po, when I came to Rome, I heard not
" a syllable about them. Marcellus, too, because
" he has not yet made any motion for a successor to
" the two Gauls, but puts it off, as he told me him-
" self, to the first of June, has revived the same talk
" concerning him, which was stirring when we were
" at Rome together. If you saw Pompey, as you
" designed to do, pray send me word in what temper
" you found him; what conversation he had with
" you; what inclination he shewed; for he is apt to
" think one thing, and say another; yet has not wit
" enough to conceal what he really means. As for
" Cæsar, there are many ugly reports about him;
" but propagated only in whispers: some say, that
" he has lost all his horse; which I take, indeed, to
" be true: others, that the seventh legion has been
" beaten; and that he himself is besieged by the
" Bellovaci, and cut off from the rest of his army.
" There is nothing yet certain; nor are these uncer-
" tain stories publicly talked of; but among the few,
" whom you know, told openly by way of secrets:
" Domitius never mentions them, without clapping
" his hand to his mouth. On the twenty-first of

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"May, the mob, under the rostra, sent about a re-
"port, (may it fall on their own heads) which
"was warmly propagated through the Forum and
"the whole city, that you were killed upon the road
"by Q. Pompeius: but I, who knew him to be then
"at Bauli, and in such a starving condition, that I
"could not help pitying him, being forced to turn
"pilot for his bread, was not concerned about it;
"and wished only, that if any real dangers threat-
"ened you, we might be quit for this lie: your
"friend Plancus Bursa is at Ravenna, where he has
"had a large donative from Cæsar; but is not yet
"easy, nor well provided. Your books on govern-
"ment are applauded by all people."*

M. T. CICERO, PROCONSUL, TO M. CŒLIUS.

"How! was it this, think you, that I charged you
"with; to send me the matches of gladiators; the
"adjournments of causes; and Chrestus's news-let-
"ter; and what nobody dares mention to me when
"at Rome? see how much I ascribe to you in my
"judgment: nor indeed without reason, for I have ne-
"ver yet met with a better head for politics; I would
"not have you write what passes every day in pub-
"lic, though ever so important, unless it happen to
"affect myself: others will write it; many bring ac-
"counts of it; and fame itself conveys a great part
"to me: I expect from you, neither the past, nor
"the present; but as from one, who sees a great way
"before him, the future only; that when I have be-
"fore me, in your letters, the plan of the Republic,
"I may be able to judge what a sort of edifice it will
"be. Nor have I hitherto, indeed, any cause to
"complain of you: for nothing has yet happened,
"which you could foresee better than any of us;
"especially myself, who spent several days with
"Pompey, in conversing on nothing else but the Re-

* Ep. Fam. 8. 1.

"public; which it is neither possible nor proper for "me to explain by letter: take this only from me: "that Pompey is an excellent citizen, prepared, "both with courage and counsel, for all events which "can be foreseen: wherefore give yourself up to the "man; believe me, he will embrace you; for he now "holds the same opinion with us, of good and bad "citizens. After I had been ten days at Athens, "where our friend Gallus Caninius was much with "me, I left it on the sixth of July, when I sent away "this letter. As I earnestly recommend all my af- "fairs to you, so nothing more particularly, than that "the time of my provincial command be not pro- "longed. This is every thing to me; which, when, "and how, and by whom it is to be managed, you "will be the best able to contrive. Adieu."*

He landed at Ephesus on the twenty-second of July, after a slow but safe passage of fifteen days; the tediousness of which was agreeably relieved by touching, on the way, at several of the islands of the Ægean sea, of which he sends a kind of journal to Atticus.† Many deputations from the cities of Asia, and a great concourse of people, came to meet him as far as Samos; but a much greater still was expecting his landing at Ephesus. The Greeks flocked eagerly, from all parts, to see a man so celebrated through the empire, for the fame of his learning and eloquence; so that all his boastings, as he merrily says, of many years past, were now brought to the test.‡ After reposing himself, for three days, at Ephesus, he marched forward towards his province; and on the last of July arrived at Laodicea, one of the capital cities of his jurisdiction. From this moment, the date of his government commenced, which he bids Atticus take notice of, that he might know

* Ep. Fam. 2. 8.

† Ephesum venimus a. d. xi. Kal. Sext. Ad. Att. 5. 13. vid. it. ib. 12.

‡ De concursu legationum, privatorum, et de incredibili multitudine, quæ mihi jam Sami, sed mirabilem in modum Ephesi præsto fuit, aut te audisse puto—ex quo te intelligere certo scio multorum annorum ostentationes meas nunc in discrimen esse adductas. Ib. 13.

how to compute the precise extent of his annual term.*

It was Cicero's resolution, in this provincial command, to practise those admirable rules, which he had drawn up formerly for his brother; and, from an employment, wholly tedious and disagreeable to him, to derive fresh glory upon his character, by leaving the innocence and integrity of his administration as a pattern of governing to all succeeding proconsuls. It had always been the custom, when any governors went abroad to their provinces, that the countries, through which they passed, should defray all the charges of their journey: but Cicero no sooner set his foot on foreign ground, than he forbad all expense whatsoever, public or private, to be made either upon himself, or any of his company, which raised a great admiration of him in all the cities of Greece.† In Asia he did the same, not suffering his officers to accept what was due to them, even by law, forage and wood for firing, nor any thing else, but mere house-room, with four beds, which he remitted also, as oft as it was practicable, and obliged them to lodge in their tents; and, by his example, and constant exhortations, brought his lieutenants, tribunes, and præfects, so fully into his measures, that they all concurred with him, he says, wonderfully, in a jealous concern for his honour.‡

Being desirous to put himself at the head of his army, before the season of action was over, he spent

* Laodiceam veni prid. Kal. Sextiles. Ex hoc die clavum anni movebis. Ib. 15.

† Ego—quotidie meditor, præcipio meis; faciam denique ut summa modestia et summa abstinentia munus hoc extraordinarium traducamus. Ib. 9.

Adhuc sumptus nec in me aut publice aut privatim, nec in quemquam comitum. Nihil accipitur lege Julia, nihil ab hospite, persuasum est omnibus meis serviendum esse famæ meæ. Belle adhuc. Hoc animadversum Græcorum laude et multo sermone celebratur. Ib. 10.

Nos adhuc iter per Græciam summa cum admiratione fecimus. Ib. 11.

‡ Levantur miseræ civitates, quod nullus sit sumptus in nos, neque in Legatos, neque in Quæstorem, neque in quemquam.—Scito, non modo nos fœnum, aut quod lege Julia dari solet, non accipere, sed ne ligna quidem, nec præter quatuor lectos, et tectum, quemquam accipere quidquam: multis locis ne tectum quidem, et in tabernaculo manere plerumque. Ad Att. 5. 16.

Ut nullus teruncius insumatur in quemquam; id fit etiam et legatorum et tribunorum et præfectorum diligentia. Nam omnes mirifice συμφιλοδοξοῦσιν gloriæ meæ. Ib. 17.

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but little time in visiting the cities of his jurisdiction, reserving the winter months for settling the civil affairs of the province.* He went, therefore, to the camp, at Iconium, in Lycaonia, about the twenty-fourth of August, where he had no sooner reviewed the troops, than he received an account from Antiochus, king of Comagene, (which was confirmed from the other princes of those parts) that the Parthians had passed the Euphrates, with a mighty force, in order to invade the Roman territory, under the conduct of Pacorus, the king's son. Upon this news, he marched towards Cilicia, to secure his province from the inroads of the enemy, or any commotions within: but, as all access to it was difficult, except on the side of Cappadocia, an open country, and not well provided, he took his route through that kingdom, and encamped in that part of it, which bordered upon Cilicia, near to the town of Cybistra, at the foot of Mount Taurus. His army, as it is said above, consisted of about twelve thousand foot, and two thousand six hundred horse, besides the auxiliary troops of the neighbouring states, and especially of Deiotarus, king of Galatia, the most faithful ally of Rome, and Cicero's particular friend, whose whole forces he could depend upon at any warning.†

While he lay in this camp, he had an opportunity of executing a special commission, with which he was charged by the senate, to take Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, under his particular protection, and provide for the security of his person and

* Erat mihi in animo recta proficisci ad exercitum, æstivos menses reliquos rei militari dare, hibernos jurisdictioni. lb. 14.

† In castra veni. a. d. vii. Kal. Sept. ad d. iii. exercitum lustravi. Ex his castris cum graves de Parthis nuncii venirent, perrexi in Ciliciam, per Cappadociæ partem eam, quæ Ciliciam attingit—

Regis Antiochi Comageni legatis primi mihi nunciarunt Parthorum magnas copias Euphratem transire cœpisse.—Cum exercitum in Ciliciam ducerem—mihi litteræ redditæ sunt a Tarcondimoto, qui fidelissimus socius trans Taurum Populi Rom. existimatur. Pacorum Orodi Regis Parthorum filium, cum permagno equitatu transisse Euphratem, &c. Ep. Fam. 15. 1.

Eodem die ab Jamblicho, Phylarcho Arabum—litteræ de eisdem rebus, &c.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

government: in honour of whom the senate had decreed, what they had never done before to any foreign prince, that his safety was of great concern to the senate and people of Rome. His father had been killed by the treachery of his subjects, and a conspiracy of the same kind was apprehended against the son; Cicero, therefore, in a council of his officers, gave the king an account of the decree of the senate, and that in consequence of it, he was then ready to assist him with his troops and authority, in any measures that should be concerted for the safety and quiet of his kingdom.—The king, after great professions of his thanks and duty to the senate, for the honour of their decree, and to Cicero himself, for his care in the execution of it, said, that he knew no occasion for giving him any particular trouble at that time; nor had any suspicion of any design against his life or crown; upon which Cicero, after congratulating him upon the tranquillity of his affairs, advised him, however, to remember his father's fate, and, from the admonition of the senate, to be particularly vigilant in the care of his person, and so they parted. But the next morning, the king returned early to the camp, attended by his brother and counsellors, and, with many tears, implored the protection of Cicero, and the benefit of the senate's decree; declaring, that he had received undoubted intelligence of a plot, which those, who were privy to it, durst not venture to discover till Cicero's arrival in the country; but, trusting to his authority, had now given full information of it; and that his brother, who was present, and ready to confirm what he said, had been solicited to enter into it by the offer of the crown; he begged, therefore, that some of Cicero's troops might be left with him for his better guard and defence. Cicero told him, that under the present alarm of the Parthian war, he could not possibly lend him any part of his army; that since the conspiracy was detected, his own forces would be

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

sufficient for preventing the effects of it; that he should learn to act the king, by shewing a proper concern for his own life, and exert his regal power in punishing the authors of the plot, and pardoning all the rest; that he need not apprehend any farther danger when his people were acquainted with the senate's decree, and saw a Roman army so near to them and ready to put it in execution: and having thus encouraged and comforted the king, he marched towards Cilicia; and gave an account of this accident, and of the motions of the Parthians, in two public letters to the consuls and the senate; he added a private letter also to Cato, who was a particular favourer and patron of Ariobarzanes, in which he informed him, that he had not only secured the king's person from any attempt, but had taken care, that he should reign, for the future, with honour and dignity, by restoring to his favour and service his old counsellors, whom Cato had recommended, and who had been disgraced by the intrigues of his court; and by obliging a turbulent young priest of Bellona, who was the head of the malecontents, and the next in power to the king himself, to quit the country.*

This king, Ariobarzanes, seems to have been poor, even to a proverb:

Mancipiis locuples, eget æris Cappadocum rex.
Hor. Ep. 1. 6.

For he had been miserably squeezed and drained by the Roman generals and governors; to whom he owed vast sums, either actually borrowed, or stipulated to be paid for particular services. It was a common practice with the greatat Rome, to lend money at exorbitant interest, to the princes and cities, dependent on the empire, which was thought an useful piece of policy to both sides; to the princes, for the opportunity of engaging to their interests the most powerful men of the Republic,

* Ep. Fam. 15. 2, 3, 4.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

by a kind of honourable pension; to the Romans, for the convenience of placing their money where it was sure to bring the greatest return of profit. The ordinary interest of these provincial loans was one per cent. by the month, with interest upon interest: this was the lowest; but, in extraordinary or hazardous cases, it was frequently four times as much. Pompey received monthly from this very king, above six thousand pounds sterling, which yet was short of his full interest. Brutus, also, had lent him a very large sum, and earnestly desired Cicero to procure the payment of it, with the arrears of interest: but Pompey's agents were so pressing, and the king so needy, that though Cicero solicited Brutus's affair very heartily, he had little hopes of getting any thing for him: when Ariobarzanes came, therefore, to offer him the same present of money which he had usually made to every other governor, he generously refused it, and desired only, that, instead of giving it to him, it might be paid to Brutus; but the poor prince was so distressed that he excused himself, by the necessity which he was under of satisfying some other more pressing demands; so that Cicero gives a sad account of his negotiation, in a long letter to Atticus, who had warmly recommended Brutus's interests to him.

"I come now," says he, "to Brutus; whom, by "your authority, I embraced with inclination, and "began even to love; but—what am I going to "say? I recal myself, lest I offend you—do not "think, that I ever entered into any thing more wil- "lingly, or took more pains, than in what he re- "commended to me. He gave me a memorial of "the particulars, which you had talked over with "me before. I pursued your instructions exactly; "in the first place, I pressed Ariobarzanes, to give "that money to Brutus which he promised to me: "as long as the king continued with me, all things "looked well; but he was afterwards teazed by six

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

" hundred of Pompey's agents; and Pompey, for " other reasons, can do more with him than all the " world besides; but especially, when it is ima- " gined that he is to be sent to the Parthian war: " they now pay Pompey thirty-three Attic talents " per month, out of the taxes, though this falls " short of a month's interest; but our friend Cnæus " takes it calmly; and is content to abate somewhat " of the interest, without pressing for the principal. " As for others, he neither does, nor can pay any " man: for he has no treasury, no revenues: he " raises taxes by Appius's method of capitation: " but these are scarce sufficient for Pompey's " monthly pay: two or three of the king's friends " are very rich; but they hold their own as closely " as either you or I.—I do not forbear, however, to " ask, urge, and chide him, by letters: king Deio- " tarus also told me, that he had sent people to " him on purpose, to solicit for Brutus; but they " brought him word back, that he had really no mo- " ney: which I take, indeed, to be the case; that " nothing is more drained than his kingdom; nothing " poorer than the king."*

But Brutus had recommended another affair of the same nature to Cicero, which gave him much more trouble. The city of Salamis, in Cyprus, owed to two of his friends, as he pretended, Scaptius and Matinius, above twenty thousand pounds sterling, upon bond, at a most extravagant interest; and he begged of Cicero to take their persons and concerns under his special protection. Appius, who was Brutus's father-in-law, had granted every thing which was asked to Scaptius; a præfecture in Cyprus, with some troops of horse, with which he miserably harassed the poor Salaminians, in order to force them to comply with his unreasonable demands: for he shut up their whole senate in the

* Ad Att. 6. 1.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

council-room, till five of them were starved to death with hunger.* Brutus laboured to place him in the same degree of favour with Cicero: but Cicero being informed of this violence at Ephesus, by a deputation from Salamis, made it the first act of his government to recal the troops from Cyprus, and put an end to Scaptius's præfecture, having laid it down for a rule, to grant no command to any man who was concerned in trade, or negotiating money in the province: to give satisfaction, however, to Brutus, he enjoined the Salaminians to pay off Scaptius's bond, which they were ready to do, according to the tenour of his edict, by which he had ordered, that no bonds in his province should carry above one per cent. by the month. Scaptius refused to take the money on those terms, insisting on four per cent. as the condition of his bond expressed; which, by computation, almost doubled the principal sum; while the Salaminians, as they protested to Cicero, could not have paid the original debt, if they had not been enabled to do it by his help, and out of his own dues, that he had remitted to them; which amounted to somewhat more than Scaptius's legal demand.†

This extortion raised Cicero's indignation; and, notwithstanding the repeated instances of Brutus and Atticus, he was determined to over-rule it; though Brutus, in order to move him the more effectually, thought proper to confess, what he had all along dissembled, that the debt was really his own, and Scaptius only his agent in it.‡ This sur-

* Fuerat enim præfectus Appio, et quidem habuerat turmas equitum, quibus inclusum in curia Senatum Salamine obsederat, ut fame senatores quinque morerentur. Ib.

† Itaque ego, quo die tetigi provinciam, cum mihi Cyprii legati Ephesum obviam venissent, litteras misi, ut equites ex insula statim decederent—Ad Att. 6. 1. confeceram, ut solverent centesimis—at Scaptius quaternas postulabat—Ib. homines non modo non recusare, sed etiam dicere, se a me solvere. Quod enim Prætori dare consuescent, quoniam ego non acceperam, se a me quodam modo dare; atque etiam minus esse aliquanto in Sceptii nomine, quam in vectigali prætorio—Ib. 5. 21.

‡ Atque hoc tempore ipso impingit mihi epistolam Scaptius Bruti, rem illam suo periculo esse: quod nec mihi unquam Brutus dixerat nec tibi—Ib. nunquam ex illo audivi illam pecuniam esse suam—Ib.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

prised Cicero still more, and though he had a warm inclination to oblige Brutus, yet he could not consent to so flagrant an injustice, but makes frequent and heavy complaints of it in his letters to Atticus.—"You have now," says he, in one of them, "the "ground of my conduct; if Brutus does not ap- "prove it, I see no reason why we should love him; "but I am sure it will be approved by his uncle "Cato."* In another—"if Brutus thinks that I "ought to allow him four per cent. when, by edict, "I have decreed but one through all the province, "and that to the satisfaction of the keenest usurers; "if he complains, that I denied a præfecture to one, "concerned in trade, which I denied, for that rea- "son, to your friend Lenius, and to Sex. Statius, "though Torquatus solicited for the one, and Pom- "pey himself for the other, yet without disgusting "either of them; if he takes it ill that I recalled "the troops of horse out of Cyprus, I shall be sorry, "indeed, that he has any occasion to be angry with "me; but much more, not to find him the man that "I took him to be.—I would have you to know, "however, that I have not forgot what you inti- "mated to me in several of your letters, that if I "brought back nothing else from the province, but "Brutus's friendship, that would be enough: let it "be so, since you will have it so: yet it must al- "ways be with this exception, as far as it can be "done, without my committing any wrong—."† In a third—"How, my dear Atticus! you, who ap- "plaud my integrity and good conduct, and are

* Habes meam causam: quæ si Bruto non probatur, nescio cur illum amemus: sed avunculo ejus certe probabitur.—Ib. 5. 21.

† Si Brutus putabit me quaternas centesimas oportuisse decernere, qui in tota provincia singulas observarem, itaque edixissem, idque etiam acerbissimis fœneratoribus probaretur; si præfecturam negotiatori denegatam queretur, quod ego Torquato nostro in tuo Lenio, Pompeio ipsi in S. Statio negavi, et iis probavi; si equites deductos moleste feret; accipiam equidem dolorem, mihi illum irasci, sed multo majorem, non esse eum talem, qualem putassem——Sed plane te intelligere volui, mihi non excidisse illud, quod tu ad me quibusdam litteris scripsisses, si nihil aliud de hac Provincia nisi illius benevolentiam deportassem, mihi id satis esse. Sit sane, quoniam ita tu vis sed tamen cum eo credo, quod sine peccato meo fiat. Ib.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

"vexed sometimes, you say, that you are not with "me; how can such a thing, as Ennius says, come "out of your mouth, to desire me to grant troops "to Scaptius, for the sake of extorting money? "could you, if you were with me, suffer me to do "it, if I would?—if I really had done such a thing, "with what face could I ever read again, or touch "those books of mine, with which you are so much "pleased?"* He tells him, likewise, in confidence, that all Brutus's letters to him, even when he was asking favours, were unmannerly, churlish, and arrogant; without regarding either what, or to whom he was writing; and if he continued in that humour—"you may love him alone," says he, "if you please; "you shall have no rival of me; but he will come, "I believe, to a better mind."† But to shew, after all, what a real inclination he had to oblige him, he never left urging king Ariobarzanes, till he had squeezed from him a hundred talents, in part of Brutus's debt, or about twenty thousand pounds; the same sum, probably, which had been destined to Cicero himself.‡

While he lay encamped in Cappadocia, expecting what way the Parthians would move, he received an account, that they had taken a different route, and were advanced to Antioch in Syria, where they held C. Cassius blocked up; and that a detachment of them had actually penetrated into Cilicia, but were routed, and cut off by those troops which

* Ain' tandem Attice, laudator integritatis et elegantiæ nostræ? ausus es hoc ex ore tuo, inquit Ennius, ut equites Scaptio ad pecuniam cogendam darem, me rogare? an tu, si mecum esses, qui scribis morderi te interdum quod non simul sis, paterere me id facere, si vellem?——et ego audebo legere unquam, aut attingere eos libros, quos tu dilaudas? si tale quid fecero? Ad Att. 6. 2.

† Ad me etiam, cum rogat aliquid, contumaciter, arroganter, ἀκοινώνητος solet scribere——ib. 6. 1.

Omnino (soli enim sumus) nullus unquam ad me litteras misit Brutus—in quibus non esset arrogans, ἀκοινώνητον aliquid—in quo tamen ille mihi risum magis quam stomachum movere solet. Sed plane parum cogitat, quid scribat, aut ad quem—ib. 6. 3.

‡ Bruti tui causa, ut sæpe ad te scripsi, feci omnia——Ariobarzanes non in Pompeium prolixior per ipsum, quam per me in Brutum—pro ratione pecuniæ liberius est Brutus tractatus, quam Pompeius. Bruto curata hoc anno talenta circiter c. Pompeio in sex mensibus promissa cc.——ib.—

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

were left to guard the country. Upon this he presently decamped, and, by great journies over Mount Taurus, marched in all haste to possess himself of the passes of Amanus; a great and strong mountain, lying between Syria and Cilicia, and the common boundary of them both. By this march, and the approach of his army to the neighbourhood of Syria, the Parthians being discouraged, retired from Antioch; which gave Cassius an opportunity of falling upon them in their retreat, and gaining a considerable advantage, in which one of their principal commanders, Osaces, was mortally wounded.*

In the suspense of the Parthian war, which the late disgrace of Crassus had made terrible at Rome, Cicero's friends, who had no great opinion of his military talents, were in some pain for his safety and success: but now that he found himself engaged, and pushed to the necessity of acting the general, he seems to have wanted neither the courage nor conduct of an experienced leader. In a letter to Atticus, dated from his camp—"We are in great "spirits," says he, "and, as our counsels are good, "have no distrust of an engagement: we are se- "curely encamped, with plenty of provisions, and "in sight almost of Cilicia; with a small army in- "deed, but, as I have reason to believe, entirely "well affected to me; which I shall double by the "accession of Deiotarus, who is upon the road to "join me: I have the allies more firmly attached to "me, than any governor ever had: they are won- "derfully taken with my easiness and abstinence: "we are making new levies of citizens, and esta- "blishing magazines: if there be occasion for fight- "ing, we shall not decline it; if not, shall defend

* Itaque confestim iter in Ciliciam feci per Tauri pylas. Tarsum veni a. d. iii. Non Oct. inde ad Amanum contendi, qui Syriam a Cilicia in aquarum divortio dividit—rumore adventus nostri, et Cassio, qui Antiochia tenebatur, animus accessit, et Parthis timor injectus est. Itaque eos cedentes ab oppido Cassius insecutus rem bene gessit. Qua in fuga magna auctoritate Osaces, dux Parthorum, vulnus accepit, eoque interiit paucis post diebus. Ad Att. 5. 20.

" ourselves by the strength of our posts: wherefore, " be of good heart, for I see, as much as if you " were with me, the sympathy of your love for me."*

But the danger of the Parthians being over, for this season, Cicero resolved, that his labour should not be lost, and his army dismissed, without attempting something of moment. The inhabitants of the mountains, close to which he now lay, were a fierce, untamed race of banditti, or freebooters, who had never submitted to the Roman power, but lived in perpetual defiance of it, trusting to their forts and castles, which were supposed to be impregnable from the strength of their situation. He thought it, therefore, of no small importance to the empire, to reduce them to a state of subjection; and, in order to conceal his design, and take them unprovided, he drew off his forces, on pretence of marching to the distant parts of Cilicia; but, after a day's journey, stopped short, and having refreshed his army and left his baggage behind, turned back again in the night with the utmost celerity, and reached Amanus before day, on the thirteenth of October. He divided his troops among his four lieutenants, and himself, accompanied by his brother, led up one part of them, and so coming upon the natives by surprise, they easily killed or made them all prisoners: they took six strong forts, and burned many more; but the capital of the mountain, Erana, made a brave resistance, and held out from break of day to four in the afternoon. Upon this success, Cicero was saluted emperor, and sat down again at the foot of the hills, where he spent five days, in demolishing the other strong-holds, and wasting the lands of these mountaineers. In this place, his troops were lodged in the same camp, which Alexander the Great had formerly used, when he beat Darius at Issus; and where there re-

* Ib. 5. 18.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

mained three altars, as the monument of his victory, which bore his name to that day: a circumstance, which furnished matter for some pleasantry, in his letters to his friends at Rome.*

From Amanus, he led his army to another part of the highlands, the most disaffected to the Roman name, possessed by a stout and free people, who had never been subject even to the kings of that country. Their chief town was called Pindenissum, situated on a steep and craggy hill, strongly fortified by nature and art, and provided with every thing necessary for defence: it was the constant refuge of all deserters, and the harbour of foreign enemies, and at that very time was expecting, and prepared to receive, the Parthians; Cicero, resolving therefore to chastise their insolence, and bring them under the Roman yoke, laid siege to it in form; and though he pushed it on with all imaginable vigour, and a continual battery of his engines, yet it cost him above six weeks to reduce it to the necessity of surrendering at discretion. The inhabitants were sold for slaves, and when Cicero was writing the account from his tribunal, he had already raised about a hundred thousand pounds by that sale: all the other plunder, excepting the horses, was given to the soldiers. In his letter upon it to Atticus, "the "Pindenisians," says he, "surrendered to me on "the Saturnalia, after a siege of seven-and-forty

* Qui mons erat hostium plenus sempiternorum. Hic a. d. 111. idus Octob. magnum numerum hostium occidimus. Castella munitissima, nocturno Pontinii adventu, nostro matutino cepimus, incendimus. Imperatores appellati sumus. Castra paucos dies habuimus, ea ipsa, quæ contra Darium habuerat apud Issum Alexander, Imperator haud paullo melior, quam aut tu aut ego. Ibi dies quinque morati, direpto et vastato Amano, inde discessimus. Ad Att. 5. 20.

Expedito exercitu ita noctu iter feci, ut ad 111. Id. Octob. cum lucisceret, in Amanum ascenderem, distributisque cohortibus et auxiliis, cum aliis Quintus frater Legatus, mecum simul, aliis C. Pontinius Legatus, reliquis M. Anneius, et M. Tullius Legati præessent: plerosque nec opinantes oppressimus—Eranam autem, quæ fuit non vici instar, sed urbis, quod erat Amani caput—acriter et diu repugnantibus, Pontinio illam partem Amani tenente, ex antelucano tempore usque ad horam diei decimam, magna multitudine hostium occisa, cepimus, castellaque sex capta: complura incendimus. His rebus ita gestis, castra in radicibus Amani habuimus apud aras Alexandri quatriduum: et in reliquiis Amani delendis, agrisque vastandis—id tempus omne consumsimus—Ep. Fam. 15. 4. vid. ib. 2. 10.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

" days: but what the plague, you will say, are these " Pindenisians! I never heard of their name before. " How can I help that? could I turn Cilicia into " Ætolia or Macedonia? take this, however, for " certain, that no man could do more, than I have " done, with such an army," &c.* After this action, another neighbouring nation, of the same spirit and fierceness, called Tiburani, terrified by the fate of Pindenissum, voluntarily submitted, and gave hostages; so that Cicero sent his army into winter quarters, under the command of his brother, into those parts of the province which were thought the most turbulent.†

While he was engaged in this expedition, Papirius Pætus, an eminent wit and Epicurean, with whom he had a particular intimacy and correspondence of facetious letters, sent him some military instructions in the way of raillery; to which Cicero answered, in the same jocose manner: " Your letter," says he, " has made me a complete commander: " I was wholly ignorant before of your great skill " in the art of war; but perceive, that you have " read Pyrrhus and Cineas. Wherefore I intend " to follow your precepts, and withal, to have some " ships in readiness on the coast; for they deny " that there can be any better defence against the " Parthian horse. But raillery apart; you little " think what a general you have to deal with: for,

* Confectis his rebus ad oppidum Eleutherocilicum, *Pindenissum*, exercitum adduxi: quod cum esset altissimo et munitissimo loco, ab iisque incoleretur, qui ne Regibus quidem unquam paruissent: cum et fugitivos reciperent, et Parthorum adventum acerrime expectarent: ad existimationem imperii pertinere arbitratus sum comprimere eorum audaciam—vallo et fossa circumdedi, sex castellis, castrisque maximis sepsi, aggere, vineis, turribus oppugnavi, ususque tormentis multis, multis sagittariis, magno labore meo—septimo quadragesimo die rem confeci. Ep. Fam. 15. 4.

Qui (malum) isti Pindenissæ? qui sunt? inquies: nomen audivi nunquam. Quid ego faciam? potui Ciliciam, Ætoliam, aut Macedoniam reddere? hoc jam sic habeto, nec hoc exercitu hic tanta negotia geri potuisse, &c. Ad Att. 5. 20.

Mancipia vænibant Saturnalibus tertiis, cum hæc scribebam in tribunali, res erat ad H. S. cxx. Ib.

† His erant finitimi pari scelere et audacia *Tiburani*: ab his, *Pindenisso* capto, obsides accepi, exercitum in hiberna dimisi. Q. Fratrem negotio præposui, ut in vicis aut captis aut malo pacatis exercitus collocaretur. Ep. Fam. 15. 4.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

"in this government, I have reduced to practice, "what I had worn out before with reading, the "whole institution of Cyrus," &c.* These martial exploits spread Cicero's fame into Syria, where Bibulus was just arrived to take upon him the command; but kept himself close within the gates of Antioch, till the country was cleared of all the Parthians: his envy of Cicero's success, and title of emperor, made him impatient to purchase the same honour by the same service, on the Syrian side of the mountain Amanus; but he had the misfortune to be repulsed in his attempt, with the entire loss of the first cohort, and several officers of distinction, which Cicero calls an ugly blow, both for the time and the effect it.†

Though Cicero had obtained what he calls a just victory at Amanus, and, in consequence of it, the appellation of emperor, which he assumed from this time; yet he sent no public account of it to Rome, till after the affair of Pindenissum, an exploit of more eclat and importance; for which he expected the honour of a thanksgiving, and began to entertain hopes even of a triumph. His public letter is lost, but that loss is supplied by a particular narrative of the whole action, in a private letter to Cato; the design of paying this compliment to Cato, was to engage his vote and concurrence to the decree of the supplication; and, by the pains which he takes to obtain it, where he was sure of gaining his point without it, shews the high opinion which he had of Cato's authority, and how desirous he was to have the testimony of it on his side. But Cato was not to be moved from his purpose by compliments or motives of friendship: he was an enemy, by principle, to all decrees of this kind, and thought them bestow-

* Ep. Fam. 9. 25.

† Erat in Syria nostrum nomen in gratia. Venit interim Bibulus. Credo voluit appellatione hac inani nobis esse par. In eodem Amano cœpit laureolam in mustaceo quærere. At ille cohortem primam totam perdidit—sane plagam odiosam accepcrat tum re tum tempore. Ad Att. 5. 20.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

ed too cheaply, and prostituted to occasions unworthy of them: so that when Cicero's letters came under deliberation, though he spoke with all imaginable honour and respect of Cicero, and highly extolled both his civil and military administration, yet he voted against the supplication; which was decreed, however, without any other dissenting voice, except that of Favonius, who loved always to mimic Cato, and of Hirrus, who had a personal quarrel with Cicero: yet, when the vote was over, Cato himself assisted in drawing up the decree, and had his name inserted in it; which was the usual mark of a particular approbation of the thing, and friendship to the person in whose favour it passed.* But Cato's answer to Cicero's letter will shew the temper of the man, and the grounds on which he acted on this occasion.

M. CATO TO M. T. CICERO, EMPEROR.

"In compliance with what both the Republic and "our private friendship require of me, I rejoice that "your virtue, innocence, diligence, approved in the "greatest affairs, exerts itself every where with "equal vigour; at home in the gown, abroad in "arms. I did all, therefore, that I could do, agreeably to my own judgment, when, in my vote and "speech, I ascribed to your innocence and good "conduct the defence of your province; the safety "of the kingdom and person of Ariobarzanes; the "recovery of the allies to their duty and affection to "our empire. I am glad, however, that a supplica-"tion is decreed; if, where chance has no part, but

* Nunc publicè litteras Romam mittere parabam. Uberiores erunt, quam si ex Amano misissem. Ib.

Deinde de triumpho, quem video, nisi Reipub. tempora impedient, ἀπορώτατον. Ad Att. 7. 1.

Ei porro assensus est unus, familiaris meus Favonius; alter iratus Hirrus. Cato autem et scribendo affuit—Ib.

Res ipsa declarat, tibi illum honorem supplicationis jucundum fuisse, quod scribendo affuisti. Hæc enim Senatus consulta non ignoro ab amicissimis ejus, cujus de honore agitur, scribi solere. Ep. Fam. 15. 6.

" the whole was owing to your consummate pru-
" dence and moderation, you are better pleased,
" that we should hold ourselves indebted to the
" gods, than to you. But if you think that a suppli-
" cation will pave the way to a triumph, and for that
" reason choose that fortune should have the praise
" rather than yourself; yet a triumph does not al-
" ways follow a supplication, and it is much more
" honourable than any triumph, for the senate to
" decree, that a province is preserved to the empire
" by the mildness and innocence of the general,
" rather than by the force of arms, and the favour of
" the gods. This was the purpose of my vote; and
" I have now employed more words than it is my
" custom to do, that you might perceive, what I
" chiefly wish to testify, how desirous I am to con-
" vince you, that, in regard to your glory, I had a
" mind to do what I took to be the most honourable
" for you; yet rejoice to see that done, which you
" are the most pleased with. Adieu, and still love
" me; and, agreeably to the course which you have
" begun, continue your integrity and diligence to the
" allies and the Republic."*

Cæsar was delighted to hear of Cato's stiffness, in hopes that it would create a coldness between him and Cicero; and, in a congratulatory letter to Cicero, upon the success of his arms, and the supplication decreed to him, took care to aggravate the rudeness and ingratitude of Cato.† Cicero himself was highly disgusted at it; especially when Cato, soon afterwards, voted a supplication to his son-in-law, Bibulus, who had done much less to deserve it. " Cato," says he, " was shamefully malicious;
" he gave me what I did not ask, a character of in-
" tegrity, justice, clemency; but denied me what I
" did:—yet this same man voted a supplication of

* Ep. Fam. 15. 5.

† Itaque Cæsar iis litteris, quibus mihi gratulatur, et omnia pollicetur, quo modo exultat Catonis in me ingratissimi injuria. Ad Att. 7. 2.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

" twenty days to Bibulus. Pardon me, if I cannot " bear this usage;"*—yet, as he had a good opinion of Cato in the main, and a farther suit to make to the senate, in the demand to a triumph, he chose to dissemble his resentment, and returned him a civil answer, to signify his satisfaction and thanks for what he had thought fit to do.†

Cicero's campaign ended just so, as Cœlius had wished in one of his letters to him; with fighting enough to give a claim to the laurel, yet without the risk of a battle with the Parthians.‡ During these months of action, he sent away the two young Ciceros, the son and nephew, to king Deiotarus's court, under the conduct of the king's son, who came on purpose to invite them. They were kept strictly to their books and exercises, and made great proficiency in both; though the one of them, as Cicero says, wanted the bit, the other the spur.—Their tutor, Dionysius, attended them, a man of great learning and probity, but, as his young pupils complained, horribly passionate.‖ Deiotarus himself was setting forward to join Cicero, with all his forces, upon the first news of the Parthian irruption. He had with him thirty cohorts, of four hundred men each, armed and disciplined after the Roman manner, with two thousand horse: but the Parthian alarm being over, Cicero sent couriers to meet him on the road, in order to prevent his marching to no purpose, so far from his own dominion.§ The old

* Aveo scire—Cato quid agat: qui quidem in me turpiter fuit malevolus. Dedit integritatis, justitiæ, clementiæ, fidei testimonium, quod non quærebam, quod postulabam, negavit——at hic idem Bibulo dierum viginti. Ignosce mihi, non possum hæc ferre——ib.———

† Ep. Fam. 15. 6.

‡ Ut optasti, ita est; velles enim, ais, tantummodo ut haberem negotii quod esset ad laureolam satis. Parthos times, quia diffidis copiis nostris. Ep. Fam. 2. 10. 8. 5.

‖ Ciceriones nostros Deiotarus filius, qui Rex a Senatu appellatus est, secum in regnum. Dum in æstivis nos essemus, illum pueris locum esse bellissimum duximus. Ad Att. 5. 17.

Ciceriones pueri amant inter se, discunt, exercentur: sed alter—frænis eget, alter calcaribus—Dionysius mihi quidem in amoribus est. Pueri autem aiunt eum furenter irasci. Sed homo nec doctior, nec sanctior fieri potest. Ib. 6. 1.

§ Mihi tamen cum Deiotaro convenit, ut ille in meis castris esset cum omnibus

king, however, seems to have brought the children back again in person, for the opportunity of paying his compliments, and spending some time with his friend, for, by what Cicero intimates, they appear to have had an interview.*

The remaining part of Cicero's government was employed in the civil affairs of the province, where his whole care was, to ease the several cities and districts of that excessive load of debts, in which the avarice and rapaciousness of former governors had involved them. He laid it down for the fixed rule of his administration, not to suffer any money to be expended, either upon himself or his officers: and, when one of his lieutenants, L. Tullius, in passing through the country, exacted only the forage and firing, which was due by law, and that but once a-day, and not, as all others had done before, from every town and village through which they passed, he was much out of humour, and could not help complaining of it, as a stain upon his government, since none of his people besides had taken even a single farthing. All the wealthier cities of the province used to pay, to all their proconsuls, large contributions for being exempted from furnishing winter quarters to the army.—Cyprus alone paid yearly, on this single account, two hundred talents, or about forty thousand pounds: but Cicero remitted this whole tax to them, which alone made a vast revenue; and applied all the customary perquisites of his office to the relief of the oppressed province: yet for all his services and generosity, which amazed the poor people, he would accept no honours, but what were merely verbal; prohibiting all expensive monuments, as statues, temples, brazen horses, &c.

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suis copiis, habet autem cohortes quadringenarias nostra armatura triginta; equitum duo millia—Ib.

Deiotarum confestim jam ad me venientem cum magno et firmo equitatu et peditatu, et cum omnibus suis copiis, certiorem feci, non videri esse causam cur abesset a regno—Ep. Fam. 15. 4.

* Deiotarus mihi narravit, &c. Ad Att. 6. 1. 5. 21.

which, by the flattery of Asia, used to be erected of course to all governors, though ever so corrupt and oppressive. While he was upon his visitation of the Asiatic districts, there happened to be a kind of famine in the country; yet wherever he came, he not only provided for his family, at his own expense, but prevailed with the merchants and dealers, who had any quantity of corn in their storehouses, to supply the people with it on easy terms;* living himself, all the while, splendidly and hospitably, and keeping an open table, not only for all the Roman officers, but the gentry of the province.† In the following letter to Atticus, he gives him a summary view of his manner of governing.

"I see," says he, "that you are much pleased "with my moderation and abstinence; but you would "be much more so, if you were with me, especi- "ally at Laodicea, where I did wonders at the ses- "sions, which I have just held, for the affairs of the "dioceses, from the thirteenth of February to the "first of May. Many cities are wholly freed from "all their debts, many greatly eased, and all, by "being allowed to govern themselves by their own "laws, have recovered new life. There are two "ways by which I have put them into a capacity of "freeing, or of easing themselves at least of their "debts; the one is, by suffering no expense at all "to be made on the account of my government.

* Cave putes quicquam homines magis unquam esse miratos, quam nullum teruntium, me obtinente provinciam, sumtus factum esse, nec in Remp. nec in quemquam meorum, præterquam in L. Tullium, Legatum. Is cæteroqui abstinens (sed Julia lege transitans, semel tamen in diem, non ut alii solebant omnibus vicis) facit ut mihi excipiendus sit, cum teruntium nego sumtus factum. Præter eum accepit nemo. Has sordes a nostro Q. Titinnio accepimus. Ad Att. 5. 21.

Civitates locupletes, ne in hibena milites reciperent, magnas pecunias dabant. Cyprii talenta Attica cc. Qua ex insula (non ὑπερβολικῶς sed verissime loquor) nummus nullus me obtinente erogabitur. Ob hæc beneficia, quibus obstupescunt, nullos honores mihi, nisi verborum, decerni sino. Statuas, fana τεθρίππα, prohibeo—Ib.

Fames, quæ erat in hac mea Asia, mihi optanda fuerit. Quacunque iter feci, nulla vi,—auctoritate et cohortatione perfeci, ut et Græci et Cives Romani, qui frumentum compresserant, magnum numerum populis pollicerentur—Ib.

† Ita vivam, ut maximos sumptus facio. Mirifice delector hoc instituto. Ad Att. 5. 15.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

"When I say none at all, I speak not hyperboli-
"cally; there is not so much as a farthing: it is in-
"credible to think what relief they have found from
"this single article. The other is this: their own
"Greek magistrates had strangely abused and
"plundered them. I examined every one of them,
"who had borne any office for ten years past: they
"all plainly confessed; and, without the ignominy
"of a public conviction, made restitution of the mo-
"ney which they had pillaged: so that the people,
"who had paid nothing to our farmers for the pre-
"sent lustrum, have now paid the arrears of the last,
"even without murmuring. This has placed me in
"high favour with the publicans: a grateful set of
"men, you'll say: I have really found them such.—
"The rest of my jurisdiction shall be managed with
"the same address; and create the same admiration
"of my clemency and easiness. There is no diffi-
"culty of access to me, as there is to all other pro-
"vincial governors; no introduction by my cham-
"berlain: I am always up before day, and walking
"in my hall, with my doors open, as I used to do
"when a candidate at Rome: this is great and gra-
"cious here; though not at all troublesome to me,
"from my old habit and discipline,"† &c.

This method of governing gave no small umbrage to Appius; who considered it as a reproach upon himself, and sent several querulous letters to Cicero, because he had reversed some of his constitutions: "And no wonder," says Cicero, "that he is dis-
"pleased with my manner, for what can be more
"unlike, than his administration and mine? Un-
"der him the province was drained by expenses
"and exactions; under me, not a penny levied for
"public or private use: what shall I say of his
"præfects, attendants, lieutenants? of their plun-
"ders, rapines, injuries? whereas now, there is not
"a single family governed with such order, disci-

* Ib. 6. 2.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

" pline, and modesty, as my province. This some of " Appius's friends interpret ridiculously; asi f I was " taking pains to exalt my own character, in order to " depress his; and doing all this, not for the sake of " my own credit, but of his disgrace."* But the truth was, that, from the time of his reconciliation with Appius, he had a sincere desire to live on good terms with him; as well out of regard to the splendour of his birth and fortunes, as to his great alliances; for one of his daughters was married to Pompey's son, and another to Brutus:† so that, though their principles and maxims were totally different, yet he took care to do every thing with the greatest professions of honour and respect towards Appius, even when he found it necessary to rescind his decrees; considering himself only, he says, as a second physician called in to a case of sickness, where he found it necessary to change the method of cure, and when the patient had been brought low by evacuations, and blood-letting, to apply all kinds of lenitive and restoring medicines.‡

As soon as the government of Cilicia was allotted to him, he acquainted Appius with it by letter, begging of him, that, as no man could succeed to it with a more friendly disposition than himself, so Appius would deliver up the province to him, in such a condition, as one friend would expect to receive it from another:§ in answer to which, Appius,

* Quid enim potest esse tam dissimile, quam illo imperante, exhaustam esse sumptibus et jacturis provinciam, nobis eam obtinentibus, nummum nullum esse erogatum nec privatim nec publicè, &c. Ib. 6. 1.

† Ego Appium, ut tecum sæpe locutus sum, valde diligo. Meque ab eo diligi statim cœptum esse, ut simultatem deposuimus, sensi—jam me Pompeii totum esse scis: Brutum a me amari intelligis. Quid est causæ, cur mihi non in optatis est complecti hominem, florentem ætate, opibus, honoribus, ingenio liberis, propinquis, affinibus, amicis. Ep. Fam. 2. 13.

‡ Ut si Medicus, cum ægrotus alii medico traditus sit, irasci velit ei medico, qui sibi successerit, si quæ ipse in curando constituerit mutet ille. Sic Appius, cum ἐξ ἀφαιρεσίως provinciam curarit, sanguinem miserit, &c. Ad Att. 6. 1.

§ Cum contra voluntatem meam—accidisset, ut mihi cum imperio in Provinciam ire necesse esset—hæc unâ consolatio occurrebat, quod neque tibi amicior, quam ego sum, quisquam posset succedere, neque ego ab ullo Provinciam accipere, qui mallet eam mihi quam maxime aptam explicatamque, &c. Ep. Fam. 3. 2.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

having intimated some desire of an interview, Cicero took occasion to press it with much earnestness, as a thing of great service to them both; and that it might not be defeated, gave him an account of all his stages and motions, and offered to regulate them in such a manner, as to make the place of their meeting the most agreeable to Appius's convenience: but Appius being disgusted with the first edicts, which Cicero published, resolved, for that reason, to disappoint him; and, as Cicero advanced into the province, retired still to the remoter parts of it, and contrived to come upon him, at last, so suddenly, that Cicero had not warning enough given to go out and meet him; which Appius laid hold of, as a fresh ground of complaint against Cicero's pride, for refusing that common piece of respect to him.†

This provoked Cicero to expostulate with him with great spirit—"I was informed," says he, "by "one of my apparitors, that you complained of me "for not coming out to meet you: I despised you, "it seems, so as nothing could be prouder—when "your servant came to me, near midnight, and told "me, that you would be with me at Iconium before "day, but could not say by which road, when there "were two; I sent out your friend Varro by the one, "and Q. Lepta, the commander of my artillery, by "the other, with instructions to each of them, to "bring me timely notice of your approach, that I "might come out in person to meet you. Lepta "came running back presently in all haste to ac-"quaint me, that you had already passed by the "camp; upon which I went directly to Iconium, "where you know the rest. Did I then refuse to "come out to you? to Appius Claudius; to an em-"peror; then, according to ancient custom; and, "above all, to my friend? I, who of all men, am apt

* —me libenter ad eam partem provinciæ primum esse venturum, quo te maxime velle arbitrarer, &c. Ib. 5.

† Appius noster, cum me adventare videt, profectus est Tarsum usque Laodiceâ. Ad Att. 5. 17.

" to do more in that way than becomes my dignity?
" but enough of this. The same man told me, like-
" wise, that you said, What! Appius went out to
" meet Lentulus; Lentulus to Appius; but Cicero
" would not come out to Appius. Can you then be
" guilty of such impertinence? a man, in my judg-
" ment, of the greatest prudence, learning, expe-
" rience; and, I may add, politeness too, which the
" Stoics rightly judge to be a virtue? do you ima-
" gine, that your Appiuses and Lentuluses are of
" more weight with me than the ornaments of vir-
" tue? before I had obtained those honours, which,
" in the opinion of the world, are thought to be the
" greatest, I never fondly admired those names of
" your's: I looked indeed upon those, who had left
" them to you, as great men; but after I had ac-
" quired, and borne the highest commands, so as to
" have nothing more to desire, either of honour or
" glory, I never, indeed, considered myself as your
" superior, but hoped, that I was become your equal:
" nor did Pompey, whom I prefer to all men who
" ever lived, nor Lentulus, whom I prefer to myself,
" think otherwise: if you, however, are of a differ-
" ent opinion, it will do you no harm to read, with
" some attention, what Athenodorus says on this
" subject, that you may learn wherein true no-
" bility consists. But to return to the point: I de-
" sire you to look upon me, not only as your friend,
" but a most affectionate one: it shall be my care,
" by all possible services, to convince you, that I am
" truly so: but if you have a mind to let people see,
" that you are less concerned for my interests, in
" my absence, than my pains for your's deserved, I
" free you from that trouble;

> " For I have friends enough to serve and love
> " Both me and mine, and above all, Great Jove. Ib. l. 174.

" But, if you are naturally querulous, you shall not
" still hinder my good offices and wishes for you:
" all that you will do, is to make me less solicitous

"how you take them. I have written this with more "than my usual freedom, from the consciousness "of my duty and affection, which, being contracted "by choice and judgment, it will be in your power "to preserve, as long as you think proper. Adieu."*

Cicero's letters to Appius make one book of his familiar epistles, the greatest part of which are of the expostulatory kind, on the subject of their mutual jealousies and complaints: in this slippery state of their friendship, an accident happened at Rome, which had like to have put an end to it. His daughter Tullia, after parting from her second husband Crassipes, as it is probably thought, by divorce,† was married, in her father's absence, to a third, P. Cornelius Dolabella: several parties had been offered to her, and, among them, Ti. Claudius Nero, who afterwards married Livia, whom Augustus took away from him: Nero made his proposals to Cicero in Cilicia, who referred him to the women, to whom he had left the management of that affair; but, before those overtures reached them, they had made up the match with Dolabella, being mightily taken with his complaisant and obsequious address.‡ He was a nobleman of patrician descent, and of great parts and politeness; but of a violent, daring, ambitious temper, warmly attached to Cæsar; and, by a life of pleasure and expense, which the prudence of Tullia, it was hoped, would correct, greatly distressed in his fortunes; which made Cicero very uneasy, when he came afterwards to know it.§ Dolabella, at the time of this mar-

* Ep. Fam. 3. 7.

† What confirms this notion is, that Crassipes appears to have been alive at this time, and under Cicero's displeasure: who mentions him as the only senator, besides Hirrus, to whom he did not think fit to write about the affair of his supplication. Ad Att. 7. 1.

‡ Ego dum in provincia omnibus rebus Appium orno, subito sum factus accusatoris ejus socer—sed crede mihi nihil minus putaram ego, qui de Ti. Nerone, qui mecum egerat, certos homines ad mulieres miseram, qui Romam venerunt factis sponsalibus. Sed hoc spero melius. Mulieres quidem valde intelligo delectari obsequio et comitate adolescentis. Ad Att. 6. 6.

§ Gener est suavis—quantumvis vel ingenii, vel humanitatis; satis. Reliqua quæ nosti ferenda. Ad Att. 7. 3.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

riage, for which he made way also by the divorce of his first wife,* gave a proof of his enterprising genius, by impeaching Appius Claudius, of practices against the state, in his government of Cilicia, and of bribery and corruption in his suit for the consulship. This put a great difficulty upon Cicero, and made it natural to suspect, that he privately favoured the impeachment, where the accuser was his son-in-law: but in clearing himself of it to Appius, though he dissembled a little, perhaps, in disclaiming any part or knowledge of that match, yet he was very sincere in professing himself an utter stranger to the impeachment, and was, in truth, greatly disturbed at it. But, as from the circumstance of his succeeding to Appius in his government, he was of all men the most capable of serving or hurting him at the trial, so Pompey, who took great pains to screen Appius, was extremely desirous to engage him on their side, and had thoughts of sending one of his sons to him for that purpose: but Cicero saved them that trouble, by declaring early and openly for Appius, and promising every thing from the province that could possibly be of service to him; which he thought himself obliged to do the more forwardly, to prevent any suspicion of treachery to his friend, on the account of his new alliance:† so that Appius, instead of declining a trial, contrived to bring it on, as soon as he could; and, with that

Dolabellam a te gaudeo primum laudari, deinde etiam amari. Nam ea quæ speras Tulliæ meæ prudentia posse temperari, scio cui tuæ epistolæ respondeant. Ep. Fam. 2. 15. it. 8. 13.

Hac oblectabar specula, Dolabellam meum fore ab iis molestiis, quas libertate sua contraxerat, liberum. Ib. 16.

* Illud mihi occurrit, quod inter postulationem, et nominis delationem uxor a Dolabella discessit. Ib. 8. 6.

† Pompeius dicitur valde pro Appio laborare, ut etiam putent alterutrum de filii sad te missurum. Ib.—

Post hoc negotium autem et temeritatem nostri Dolabellæ deprecatorem me pro illius periculo præbeo. Ib. 2. 13.

Tamen hac mihi affinitate nuntiata, non majore equidem studio, sed acrius, apertius, significantius dignitatem tuam defendissem—nam ut vetus nostra simultas antea stimulabat me, ut caverem ne cui suspicionem ficte reconciliatæ gratiæ darem: sic affinitas novam curam affert cavendi. Ib. 3. 12.

view, having dropped his pretensions to a triumph, entered the city, and offered himself to his judges, before his accuser was prepared for him, and was acquitted, without any difficulty, of both the indictments.

In a little time after his trial, he was chosen censor, together with Piso, Cæsar's father-in-law, the last who bore that office during the freedom of the Republic. Clodius's law, mentioned above, which had greatly restrained the power of these magistrates, was repealed the last year, by Scipio, the consul, and their ancient authority restored to them,* which was now exercised with great rigour by Appius; who, though really a libertine, and remarkable for indulging himself in all the luxury of life, yet, by an affectation of severity, hoped to retrieve his character, and pass for an admirer of that ancient discipline, for which many of his ancestors had been celebrated. Cœlius gives a pleasant account of him to Cicero: "Do you know," says he, "that the cen-"sor, Appius, is doing wonders amongst us, about "statues and pictures, the number of our acres, and "the payment of debts? he takes the censorship for "soap or nitre, and thinks to scour himself clean "with it; but he is mistaken: for while he is labour-"ing to wash out his stains, he opens his very veins "and bowels, and lets us see him the more intimate-"ly: run away to us, by all the gods, to laugh at "these things: Drusus sits judge upon adultery, "by the Scantinian law; Appius on statues and "pictures."† But this vain and unseasonable attempt of reformation, instead of doing any good, served only to alienate people from Pompey's cause, with whom Appius was strictly allied: whilst his colleague, Piso, who foresaw that effect, chose to sit

* Dio, p. 147.

† Scis Appium Censorem hic ostenta facere? de signis et tabulis, de agri modo, et ære alieno acerrime agere? persuasum est ei, censuram lomentum aut nitrum esse. Errare mihi videtur. Nam sordes eluere vult, venas sibi omnes et viscera aperit. Curæ per Deos, et quam primum hæc risum veni. Legis Scantiniæ judicium apud Drusum fieri. Appium de tabulis et signis agere. Ep. Fam. 8. 14.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus, M. Claudius Marcellus.

still, and suffer him to disgrace the knights and senators at pleasure, which he did with great freedom; and, among others, turned Sallust, the historian, out of the senate, and was hardly restrained from putting the same affront upon Curio, which added still more friends and strength to Cæsar.*

As to the public news of the year, the grand affair, that engaged all people's thoughts, was the expectation of a breach between Cæsar and Pompey, which seemed now unavoidable, and in which all men were beginning to take part, and ranging themselves on the one side or the other. On Pompey's there was a great majority of the senate and the magistrates, with the better sort of all ranks: on Cæsar's, all the criminal and obnoxious, all who had suffered punishment, or deserved it; the greatest part of the youth, and the city mob; some of the popular tribunes, and all who were oppressed with debts; who had a leader fit for their purpose, daring, and well provided, and wanting nothing but a cause. This is Cicero's account; and Cœlius's is much the same: "I see," says he, "that Pompey will have the se-"nate, and all who judge of things; Cæsar all who "live in fear and uneasiness; but there is no com-"parison between their armies."† Cæsar had put an end to the Gallic war, and reduced the whole province to the Roman yoke; but though his commission was near expiring, he seemed to have no thoughts of giving it up, and returning to the condition of a private subject: he pretended that he could not possibly be safe, if he parted with his army, especially while Pompey held the province of

* Dio. l. 40. p. 150.

† Hoc video, cum homine audacissimo, paratissimoque negotium esse: omnes damnatos, omnes ignominia affectos, omnes damnatione ignominiaque dignos illac facere. Omnem fere juventutem, omnem illam urbanam ac perditam plebem; Tribunos valentes—omnes, qui ære alieno premantur—causam solam illa causa non habet, cæteris rebus abundat. Ad Att. 7. 3.

In hac discordia video, Cn. Pompeium Senatum, quique res judicant, secum habiturum: ad Cæsarem omnes, qui cum timore aut mala spe vivant ad Cæsarem accessuros. Exercitum conferendum non esse. Ep. Fam. 8. 14.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

Spain, prolonged to him for five years.* The senate, in the meanwhile, in order to make him easy, had consented to let him take the consulship, without coming to sue for it in person: but when that did not satisfy him, the consul, M. Marcellus, one of his fiercest enemies, moved them to abrogate his command directly, and appoint him a successor; and, since the war was at an end, to oblige him to disband his troops, and to come likewise in person to sue for the consulship, nor to allow the freedom of the city to his colonies beyond the Po: this related particularly to a favourite colony, which Cæsar, when consul, had settled at Comum, at the foot of the Alps, with the freedom of the city granted to it by the Vatinian law.† All the other colonies on that side of the Po, had before obtained from Pompey's father the rights of Latium, that is, the freedom of Rome to those, who had borne an annual magistracy in them; but M. Marcellus, out of a singular enmity to Cæsar, would allow no such right to his colony of Comum; and, having caught a certain Comensian magistrate, who was acting the citizen at Rome, he ordered him to be seized, and publicly whipped; an indignity, from which all citizens were exempted by law; bidding the man go and shew those marks of his citizenship to Cæsar.‡ Cicero condemns this act as violent and unjust; "Marcellus," says he, "behaved shamefully in the case of the Comensian; "for if the man had never been a magistrate, he "was yet of a colony beyond the Po, so that Pom- "pey will not be less shocked at it than Cæsar "himself."§

The other consul, Serv. Sulpicius, was of a more candid and moderate temper; and, being unwilling

* Cæsari autem persuasum est, se salvum esse non posse, si ab exercitu recesserit. Fert illam tamen conditionem, ut ambo exercitus tradant. Ib.

† Sueton. J. Cæs. c. 28. Strabo, l. 5. 326.

‡ Appian, 2. 443.

§ Marcellus fœde de Comensi: etsi ille Magistratum non gesserit, erat tamen transpadanus. Ita mihi videtur non minus stomachi nostro, ac Cæsari movisse. Ad Att, 5. 11.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus: M. Claudius Marcellus.

to give such a handle for a civil war, opposed and over-ruled the motions of his colleague, by the help of some of the tribunes: nor was Pompey himself disposed to proceed so violently, or to break with Cæsar on that foot; but thought it more plausible to let his term run out, and his command expire of itself, and so throw upon him the odium of turning his arms against his country, if he should resolve to act against the senate and the laws. This counsel prevailed, after many warm contestations, in which the summer was chiefly spent, and a decree was offered, on the last of September, that the consuls elect, L. Paulus and C. Marcellus, should move the senate on the first of March, to settle the consular provinces; and, if any magistrate should interpose, to hinder the effect of their decrees, that he should be deemed an enemy to the Republic; and if any one actually interposed, that this vote and resolution should be entered into the journals, to be considered some other time by the senate, and laid also before the people. But four of the tribunes gave their joint negative to this decree, C. Cœlius, L. Vincius, P. Cornelius, and C. Vibius Pansa. In the course of these debates, Pompey, who affected great moderation, in whatever he said of Cæsar, was teazed and urged, on all sides, to make an explicit declaration of his sentiments. When he called it unjust to determine any thing about Cæsar's government, before the first of March, the term prescribed to it by law, being asked, what, if any one should then put a negative upon them, he said, there was no difference whether Cæsar refused to obey the decrees of the senate, or provided men to obstruct them: "What," says another, "if he should insist on being "consul, and holding his province too?" "What," replied Pompey, "if my son should take a stick and "cudgel me?" intimating the one to be as incredible, and as impious also as the other.*

* Cum interrogaretur, si qui tum intercederent: dixit hoc nihil interesse, utrum C. Cæsar Senatui dicto audiens futurus non esset, an pararet, qui Senatum decernere non

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Metellus.

Cicero's friend, Cœlius, obtained the ædileship this summer from his competitor Hirrus, the same who had opposed Cicero in the augurate, and whose disappointment gave occasion to many jokes between them in their letters.* In this magistracy, it being customary to procure wild beasts, of all kinds, from different parts of the empire, for the entertainment of the city, Cœlius begged of Cicero to supply him with panthers from Cilicia, and to employ the Cybarites, a people of his province famed for hunting, to catch them: "for it would be a reflection "upon you," says he, "when Curio had ten panthers "from that country, not to let me have many more." He recommends to him, at the same time, M. Feridius, a Roman knight, who had an estate in Cilicia, charged with some services or quit-rent to the neighbouring cities, which he begs of him to get discharged, so as to make the lands free:† he seems, also, to have desired Cicero's consent to his levying certain contributions upon the cities of his province, towards defraying the expense of his shows at Rome, a prerogative, which the ædiles always claimed, and sometimes practised; though it was denied to them by some governors, and particularly by Quintus Cicero, in Asia, upon the advice of his brother;‡ in answer to all which, Cicero replied, that he was sorry to find that his actions were so much in the dark; that it was not yet known at Rome, that not a farthing had been exacted in his province, except for the payment of just debts: that it was neither fit for him to extort money, nor for Cœlius to take it, if it were designed for himself; and admonished him, who had undertaken the part of accusing others, to live him-

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pateretur. Quid si, inquit alius, et Consul esse et exercitum habere volet? at ille quam clementer. Quid si filius meus fustem mihi impingere volet? Ep. Fam. 8. 8.

* Ep. Fam. 2. 9, 10. it. 8. 2, 3. 9.

† Fere litteris omnibus tibi de Pantheris scripsi. Turpe tibi erit, Patischum Curioni decem Pantheras misisse, te non multis partibus plures, &c. Ep. Fam. 8, 9.

M. Feridium—tibi commendo. Agros, quos fructuarios habent civitates, vult tuo beneficio, quod tibi facile et honestum factu est, immunes esse. Ib.

‡ Ad Quint. Frat. 1. 1. § 9.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

self with more caution—and, as to panthers, that it was not consistent with his character to impose the charge of hunting them upon the poor people.* But, though he would not break his rules for the sake of his friend, yet he took care to provide panthers for him at his own expense; and says, pleasantly, upon it, "that the beasts made a sad complaint against "him, and resolved to quit the country, since no "snares were laid in his province for any other crea- "ture but themselves."†

Curio likewise obtained the tribunate this summer, which he sought with no other design, as many imagined, than for the opportunity of mortifying Cæsar, against whom he had hitherto acted with great fierceness.‡ But Cicero, who knew, from the temper and views of them both, how easy it would be to make up matters between them, took occasion to write a congratulatory letter to him upon this advancement, in which he exhorts him, with great gravity, to consider into what a dangerous crisis his tribunate had fallen, not by chance, but his own choice; what violence of the times, what variety of dangers, hung over the Republic; how uncertain the events of things were; how changeable mens' minds; how much treachery and falsehood in human life—he begs of him, therefore, to beware of entering into any new councils, but to pursue and defend what he himself thought right, and not suffer himself to be drawn away by the advice of others—referring, without doubt, to M. Antony, the chief companion and corrupter of his youth. In the conclusion, he conjures him to employ his present power to hinder his provincial trouble from being prolonged by any

* Rescripsi, me moleste ferre, si ego in tenebris laterem, nec audiretur Romæ, nullum in mea provincia nummum nisi in æs alienum erogari; docuique nec mihi conciliare pecuniam licere, nec illi capere: monuique eum, &c. Ad Att. 6. 1.

† De Pantheris, per eos, qui venari solent, agitur mandato meo diligenter: sed mira paucitas est: et eas, quæ sunt, valde aiunt queri, quod nihil cuiquam insidiarum in mea provincia nisi sibi fiat. Ep. Fam. 2. 11.

‡ Sed ut spero et volo, et ut se fert ipse Curio, bonos et Senatum malet. Totus ut nunc est, hoc scaturit. Ib. 8. 4.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

new act of the senate——.* Cicero's suspicions were soon confirmed, by letters from Rome, whence Cœlius sent him word of Curio's changing sides, and declaring himself for Cæsar; in answer to which, Cicero says, "the last page of your letter, in your own "hand, really touched me. What do you say? is "Curio turned advocate for Cæsar? who would have "thought it besides myself? for let me die, if I did "not expect it? Good gods! how much do I long "to be laughing with you at Rome."†

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coss.—L. Æmilius Paulus. C. Claudius Marcellus.

THE new consuls being Cicero's particular friends, he wrote congratulatory letters to them both, upon their election, in which he begged the concurrence of their authority to the decree of his supplication; and, what he had more at heart, that they would not suffer any prolongation of his annual term; in which they readily obliged him, and received his thanks also by letter for that favour.‡ It was expected, that something decisive would now be done, in relation to the two Gauls, and the appointment of a successor to Cæsar, since both the consuls were supposed to be his enemies; but all attempts of that kind were still frustrated by the intrigues of Cæsar; for when C. Marcellus began to renew the same motion, which his kinsman's had made the year before, he was obstructed by his colleague Paulus, and the tribune Curio, whom Cæsar had privately gained, by immense bribes, to suffer nothing prejudicial to his interest to pass during their magistracy.§ He is said to have given Paulus about three hundred thousand

* Ep. Fam. 2.

† Extrema pagella pupugit me tuo chirographo. Quid ais? Cæsarem nunc defendit Curio? quis hoc putaret præter me? nam ita vivam, putavi. Ib. 13.

‡ Ep. Fam. 15. 7. 10, 11, 12, 13.

§ Sueton. J. Cæs. 29.

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coss.—L. Æmilius Paulus. C. Claudius Marcellus.

pounds, and to Curio much more.* The first wanted it to defray the charges of those splendid buildings, which he had undertaken to raise at his own cost; the second, to clear himself of the load of his debts, which amounted to about half a million;† for he had wasted his great fortunes so effectually, in a few years, that he had no other revenue left, as Pliny says, but in the hopes of a civil war.‡ These facts are mentioned by all the Roman writers—

Momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum,
Gallorum captus spoliis et Cæsaris auro. Lucan. 4. 819.

Caught by the spoils of Gaul, and Cæsar's gold,
Curio turn'd traitor, and his country sold—

and Servius applies that passage of Virgil, "ven-"didit hic auro patriam," to the case of Curio's selling Rome to Cæsar.

Cicero, in the mean time, was expecting, with impatience, the expiration of his annual term, but, before he could quit the province, he was obliged to see the account of all the money, which had passed through his own or his officer's hands, stated and balanced; and three fair copies provided, two to be deposited in two of the principal cities of his jurisdiction, and a third in the treasury at Rome.

That his whole administration, therefore, might be of a piece, he was very exact and punctual in acquitting himself of his duty, and would not indulge his officers in the use of any public money beyond the legal time, or above the sum prescribed by law, as appears from his letters to some of them who desired it.§ Out of the annual revenue, which was

* Appian. l. ii. p. 443.

† Sexcenties sestertium æris alieni. Val. Max. 9. 1.

‡ Qui nihil in censu habuerit, præter discordiam principum. Plin. Hist. l. 36. 15.

§ Laodiceæ me prædes accepturum arbitror omnis publicæ pecuniæ—nihil est, quod in isto genere cuiquam possim commodare, &c. Ep. Fam. 2. 17.

Illud quidem certe factum est, quod lex jubebat, ut apud duas civitates, Laodicensem, et Apameensem, quæ nobis maximæ videbantur—rationes confectas et consolidatas deponeremus, &c. Ib. 5. 20.

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coss.—L. Æmilius Paulus. C. Claudius Marcellus.

decreed to him for the use of the province, he remitted to the treasury all that he had not expended, to the amount of above eight hundred thousand pounds. "This," says he, "makes my whole company groan; "they imagined, that it should have been divided "among themselves, as if I ought to have been a "better manager for the treasures of Phrygia and "Cilicia, than for our own. But they did not move "me; for my own honour weighed with me the "most: yet, I have not been wanting, to do every "thing in my power, that is honourable and gene-"rous to them all."*

His last concern was, to what hands he should commit the government of his province upon his leaving it, since there was no successor appointed by the senate, on account of the heats among them about the case of Cæsar, which disturbed all their debates, and interrupted all other business. He had no opinion of his quæstor, C. Cœlius, a young man of noble birth, but of no great virtue or prudence; and was afraid, after his glorious administration, that, by placing so great a trust in one of his character, he should expose himself to some censure. But he had nobody about him of superior rank, who was willing to accept it, and did not care to force it upon his brother, lest that might give a handle to suspect him of some interest or partiality in the choice.† He dropped the province, therefore, after some deliberation, into Cœlius's hands, and set forward immediately upon his journey towards Italy.

* Cum enim rectum et gloriosum putarem ex annuo sumptu, qui mihi decretus esset. Me C. Cœlio Quæstori relinquere annuum, referre in ærarium ad H. S. cio ingemuit nostra cohors, omne illud putans distribui sibi oportere; ut ego amicior invenirer Phrygum aut Cilicum ærariis, quam nostro. Sed me non moverunt; nam mea laus apud me plurimum valuit. Nec tamen quicquam honorifice in quemquam fieri potuit, quod prætermiserim. Ad Att. 7. 1.

† Ego de provincia decedens Quæstorem Cœlium præposui provinciæ. Puerum? inquies. At Quæstorem; at nobilem adolescentem; at omnium fere exemplo. Neque erat superiore honore usus, quem præficerem. Pontinius multo ante discesserat. At Quinto fratre impetrari non poterat: quem tamen si reliquissem, dicerent iniqui, non me plane post annum, ut Senatus voluisset, de provincia decessisse, quoniam alteram me reliquissem. Ep. Fam. 2. 15. vid. it. Ad Att. 6. 5, 6.

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coss.—L. Æmilius Paulus. C. Claudius Marcellus.

But before he quitted Asia, he begged of Atticus, by letter, to send him a particular detail of all the news of the city—"There are odious reports," says he, "about Curio and Paulus; not that I see any "danger, while Pompey stands, or I may say, in- "deed, while he sits, if he has but his health; but, "in truth, I am sorry for my friends Curio and Pau- "lus. If you are now, therefore, at Rome, or as "soon as you come thither, I would have you send "me a plan of the whole Republic, which may meet "me on the road, that I may form myself upon it, "and resolve what temper to assume on my coming "to the city; for it is some advantage not to come "thither a mere stranger."* We see what a confi- dence he placed in Pompey, on whom, indeed, their whole prospect, either of peace with Cæsar, or of success against him, depended: as to the intimation about his health, it is expressed more strongly in another letter: "all our hopes," says he, "hang up- "on the life of one man, who is attacked every year "by a dangerous fit of sickness."† His constitution seems to have been peculiarly subject to fevers; the frequent returns of which, in the present situation of affairs, gave great apprehension to all his party: in one of those fevers, which threatened his life for many days successively, all the towns of Italy put up public prayers for his safety; an honour, which had never been paid before to any man, while Rome was free.‡

Upon taking leave of Cilicia, Cicero paid a visit to Rhodes, for the sake, he says, of the children.§

* Huc odiosa afferebantur de Curione, de Paulo: non quo ullum periculum vi- deam stante Pompeio, vel etiam sedente, valeat modo. Sed mehercule Curionis et Pauli meorum familiarium vicem doleo. Formam igitur mihi totius Reip. si jam es Romæ, aut cum eris, velim mittas, quæ mihi obviam veniat. Ex qua me fingere pos- sum, &c. Ad Att. 6. 3.

† In unius hominis, quotannis periculose ægrotantis, anima, positas omnes nos- tras spes habemus. Ib. 8. 2.

‡ Quo quidem tempore universa Italia vota pro salute ejus, primo omnium civium, suscepit. Vell. Pat. 2. 48. Dio, p. 155.

§ Rhodum volo puerorum causa. Ad Att. 6. 7.

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coss.—L. Æmilius Paulus. C. Claudius Marcellus.

His design was to give them a view of that flourishing isle, and a little exercise, perhaps, in that celebrated school of eloquence, where he himself had studied with so much success under Molo. Here he received the news of Hortensius's death,* which greatly affected him, by recalling to his mind the many glorious struggles, that they had sustained together at the bar, in their competition for the prize of eloquence. Hortensius reigned absolute in the Forum, when Cicero first entered it; and, as his superior fame was the chief spur to Cicero's industry, so the shining specimen, which Cicero soon gave of himself, made Hortensius, likewise, the brighter for it, by obliging him to exert all the force of his genius, to maintain his ground against his young rival. They passed a great part of their lives in a kind of equal contest and emulation of each other's merit: but Hortensius, by the superiority of his years, having first passed through the usual gradation of public honours, and satisfied his ambition, by obtaining the highest, began to relax somewhat of his old contention, and give way to the charms of ease and luxury, to which his nature strongly inclined him,† till he was forced, at last, by the general voice of the city, to yield the post of honour to Cicero; who never lost sight of the true point of glory, nor was ever diverted by any temptation of pleasure from his steady course and laborious pursuit of virtue. Hortensius published several orations, which were extant long after his death; and, it were much to be wished, that they had remained to this day, to enable us to form a judgment of the different talents of these two great men; but they are said to have owed a great part of their credit to the advantage of his action, which yet was thought to have more of art than

* Cum e Cilicia decedens Rhodum venissem, et eo mihi de Q. Hortensii morte esset allatum; opinione omnium majorem animo cepi dolorem. Brut. init.

† Nam is post Consulatum—summum illud suum studium remisit, quo a puero fuerat, incensus; atque in omnium rerum abundantia voluit beatius, ut ipse putabat, remissius certe vivere. Brut. p. 443.

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coss.—L. Æmilius Paulus. C. Claudius Marcellus.

was necessary to an orator, so that his compositions were not admired so much by the reader, as they had been by the hearer;* while Cicero's more valued productions made all others of that kind less sought for, and consequently the less carefully preserved. Hortensius, however, was generally allowed, by the ancients, and by Cicero himself, to have possessed every accomplishment which could adorn an orator—elegance of style; art of composition; fertility of invention; sweetness of elocution; gracefulness of action.† These two rivals lived, however, always with great civility and respect towards each other, and were usually in the same way of thinking and acting in the affairs of the Republic; till Cicero, in the case of his exile, discovered the plain marks of a lurking envy and infidelity in Hortensius: yet his resentment carried him no farther, than to some free complaints of it to their common friend Atticus, who made it his business to mitigate this disgust, and hinder it from proceeding to an open breach; so that Cicero, being naturally placable, lived again with him, after his return, on the same easy terms as before, and lamented his death at this time with great tenderness, not only as the private loss of a friend, but a public misfortune to his country, in being deprived of the service and authority of so experienced a statesman at so critical a conjuncture.‡

From Rhodes he passed on to Ephesus, whence he set sail, on the first of October, and after a tedi-

* Motus et gestus etiam plus artis habebat, quam erat oratori satis. Brut. 425. dicebat melius quam scripsit Hortensius. Orat. p. 261.

Ejus scripta tantum intra famam sunt, qui diu princeps oratorum—existimatus est, novissime quoad vixit, secundus; ut appareat placuisse aliquid eo dicente, quod legentes non invenimus. Quint. xi. 3.

† Erat in verborum splendore elegans, compositione aptus, facultate copiosus:—nec prætermittebat fere quicquam, quod erat in causa—vox canora et suavis. Brut. 425.

‡ Nam et amico amisso cum consuetudine jucunda, tum multorum officiorum conjunctione me privatum videbam—augebat etiam molestiam, quod magna sapientium civium bonorumque penuria, vir egregius, conjunctissimusque mecum consiliorum omnium societate alienissimo Reipub. tempore extinctus. Brut. init.

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coss.—L. Æmilius Paulus. C. Claudius Marcellus.

ous passage, landed at Athens, on the fourteenth.* Here he lodged again in his old quarters, at the house of his friend Aristus. His predecessor, Appius, who passed also through Athens, on his return, had ordered a new portico or vestibule to be built at his cost, to the temple of the Eleusinian Ceres; which suggested a thought, likewise, to Cicero, of adding some ornament of the same kind to the academy, as a public monument of his name, as well as of his affection for the place; for he hated, he says, those false inscriptions of other people's statues,† with which the Greeks used to flatter their new masters, by effacing the old titles, and inscribing them anew to the great men of Rome. He acquainted Atticus with his design, and desired his opinion upon it; but, in all probability, it was never executed, since his stay at Athens was now very short, and his thoughts wholly bent on Italy: for as all his letters confirmed to him the certainty of a war, in which he must necessarily bear a part, so he was impatient to be at home, that he might have the clearer view of the state of affairs, and take his measures with the greater deliberation.‡ Yet he was not still without hopes of peace, and that he should be able to make up the quarrel between the chiefs; for he was, of all men, the best qualified to effect it, on account, not only of his authority, but of his intimate friendship with them both; who severally paid great court to him at this time, and reckoned upon him as their own, and wrote to

* Prid. id. Octob. Athenas venimus, cum sane adversis ventis usi essemus—Ep. Fam. 14. 5.

† Audio Appium προπύλαιον, Eleusine facere. Num inepti fuerimus, si nos quoque Academiæ fecerimus?——equidem valde ipsas Athenas amo. Volo esse aliquod monumentum. Odi falsas inscriptiones alienarum statuarum. Sed ut tibi placebit. Ad Att. 6. 1.

‡ Cognovi ex multorum amicorum litteris—ad arma rem spectare. Ut mihi cum venero, dissimulare non liceat, quid sentium. Sed quum subeunda fortuna est, eo citius dabimus operam ut veniamus, quo facilius de tota re deliberemus——Ep. Fam. 14. 5.

Sive enim ad concordiam res adduci potest, sive ad bonorum victoriam, utriusve rei me aut adjutorem esse velim, aut certe non expertem. Ad Att. 7. 3.

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coss.—L. Æmilius Paulus. C. Claudius Marcellus.

him with a confidence of his being a determined friend.*

In his voyage from Athens towards Italy, Tiro, one of his slaves, whom he soon after made free, happened to fall sick, and was left behind at Patræ to the care of friends and a physician. The mention of such an accident will seem trifling to those who are not acquainted with the character and excellent qualities of Tiro, and how much we are indebted to him for preserving and transmitting to posterity the precious collection of Cicero's letters, of which a great part still remain, and one entire book of them written to Tiro himself; several of which relate to the subject of this very illness. Tiro was trained up in Cicero's family, among the rest of his young slaves, in every kind of useful and polite learning, and, being a youth of singular parts and industry, soon became an eminent scholar, and extremely serviceable to his master, in all his affairs, both civil and domestic. "As for Tiro," says he to Atticus, "I see you have a concern for him: "though he is wonderfully useful to me, when he "is well, in every kind both of my business and "studies, yet, I wish his health, more for his own "humanity and modesty, than for any service which "I reap from him."† But his letter to Tiro himself will best shew what an affectionate master he was: for from the time of leaving him, he never failed writing to him by every messenger or ship which passed that way, though it were twice or thrice a day, and often sent one of his servants express to bring an account of his health: the first of these letters will give us a notion of the rest.

* Ipsum tamen Pompeium separatim ad concordiam hortabor. Ib.
Me autem uterque numerat suum. Nisi forte simulat alter. Nam Pompeius non dubitat (vere enim judicat) ea, quæ de Repub. nunc sentiat, mihi valde probari. Utriusque autem accepi litteras ejusmodi—ut neuter quemquam omnium pluris facere quam me videretur. Ib. 7. 1.

† De Tirone video tibi curæ esse. Quem quidem ego, et si mirabiles utilitates mihi præbet, cum valet, in omni genere vel negotiorum vel studiorum meorum, tamen propter humanitatem et modestiam malo salvum, quam propter usum meum. Ad Att. 7. 5.

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coss.—L. Æmilius Paulus. C. Claudius Marcellus.

M. T. CICERO TO TIRO.

"I thought that I should have been able to bear "the want of you more easily; but in truth I cannot "bear it: and though it is of great importance to "my expected honour to be at Rome as soon as "possible, yet I seem to have committed a sin when "I left you. But since you were utterly against "proceeding in the voyage, till your health was con- "firmed, I approved your resolution; nor do I now "think otherwise, if you continue in the same mind. "But after you have begun to take meat again, if you "think that you shall be able to overtake me, that "is left to your consideration. I have sent Mario "to you, with instructions, either to come with you "to me as soon as you can, or if you should stay "longer, to return instantly without you. Assure "yourself, however, of this, that, as far as it can be "convenient to your health, I wish nothing more "than to have you with me; but if it be necessary "for the perfecting your recovery, to stay awhile "longer at Patræ, that I wish nothing more than "to have you well. If you sail immediately you "will overtake me at Leucas: but if you stay "to establish your health, take care to have good "company, good weather, and a good vessel. Ob- "serve this one thing, my Tiro, if you love me, that "neither Mario's coming, nor this letter, hurry "you. By doing what is most conducive to your "health, you will do what is most agreeable to me: "I weigh all these things by your own discretion. "I want you; yet so as to love you; my love makes "me wish to see you well; my want of you, to see "you as soon as possible: the first is the better; "take care, therefore, above all things, to get well "again; of all your innumerable services to me, "that will be the most acceptable.—The third of "November."*

* Ep. Fam. 16. 1.

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coss.—L. Æmilius Paulus. C. Claudius Marcellus.

By the honour that he mentions in the letter, he means the honour of a triumph, which his friends encouraged him to demand for his success at Amanus and Pindenissum: in writing upon it to Atticus, he says, "consider what you would advise me with "regard to a triumph, to which my friends invite "me: for my part, if Bibulus, who, while there was "a Parthian in Syria, never set a foot out of the "gates of Antioch, any more than he did upon a "certain occasion out of his own house, had not "solicited a triumph, I should have been quiet; "but now it is a shame to sit still."* Again, "as to "a triumph, I had no thoughts of it before Bibu-"lus's most impudent letters, by which he obtained "an honourable supplication. If he had really "done all that he has written, I should rejoice at "it, and wish well to his suit: but for him, who "never stirred beyond the walls, while there was "an enemy on this side the Euphrates, to have such "an honour decreed; and for me, whose army in-"spired all their hopes and spirits into his, not to "obtain the same, will be a disgrace to us; I say to "us; joining you to myself: wherefore I am deter-"mined to push at all, and hope to obtain all."†

After the contemptible account which Cicero gives of Bibulus's conduct in Syria, it must appear strange to see him honoured with a supplication, and aspiring even to a triumph; but this was not for any thing that he himself had done, but for what his lieutenant Cassius had performed in his absence against the Parthians; the success of the lieutenants being ascribed always to the auspices of the general, who reaped the reward and glory of it; and as the Parthians were the most danger-

* Ad Att. 6. 8.

† De triumpho, nulla me cupiditas unquam tenuit ante Bibuli impudentissimas literas, quas amplissima supplicatio consecuta est. A quo si ea gesta sunt, quæ scripsit, gauderem et honori faverem. Nunc illum, qui pedem porta, quoad hostis cis Euphratem fuit, non extulerit, honore augeri, me, in cujus exercitu spem illius exercitus habuit, idem non assequi, dedecus est nostrum; nostrum, inquam, te conjungens. Itaque omnia experiar, et, ut spero, assequar. Ad Att. 7. 2.

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coss.—L. Æmilius Paulus. C. Claudius Marcellus.

ous enemies of the Republic, and the more particularly dreaded at this time, for their late defeat of Crassus, so any advantage gained against them was sure to be well received at Rome, and repaid with all the honours that could reasonably be demanded.

Whenever any proconsul returned from his province, with pretensions to a triumph, his fasces, or ensigns of magistracy, were wreathed with laurel: with this equipage, Cicero landed at Brundisium, on the twenty-fifth of November, where his wife Terentia arrived at the same moment to meet him, so that their first salutation was in the great square of the city. From Brundisium he marched forward by slow stages towards Rome, making it his business, on the road, to confer with all his friends of both parties, who came out to salute him; and to learn their sentiments on the present state of affairs; from which he soon perceived, what of all things he most dreaded, an universal disposition to war. But as he foresaw the consequences of it more coolly and clearly than any of them, so his first resolution was to apply all his endeavours and authority to the mediation of a peace. He had not yet declared for either side; not that he was irresolute which of them to choose, for he was determined within himself to follow Pompey; but the difficulty was, how to act, in the mean time, towards Cæsar, so as to avoid taking part in the previous decrees, which were prepared against him, for abrogating his command, and obliging him to disband his forces on pain of being declared an enemy: here he wished to stand neuter awhile, that he might act the mediator with the better grace and effect.*

* Brundisium venimus vii Kal. Decemb.—Terentia vero, quæ quidem eodem tempore ad portam Brundisinam venit, quo ego in portum, mihique obvia in Foro fuit. Ib.——

Mihi σκάφος unum erit, quod a Pompeio gubernabitur—dic M. Tulli σύντομα. Cn. Pompeio assentio—Ib. 3.

Nunc incido in discrimen ipsum,—dabunt operam, ut eliciant sententiam meam—

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In this disposition he had an interview with Pompey, on the tenth of December, of which he gives the following account: "We were together," says he, "about two hours. He seemed to be extremely "pleased at my return; exhorted me to demand a "triumph; promised to do his part in it; advised "me not to appear in the senate before I had "obtained it, lest I should disgust any of the tri-"bunes by declaring my mind: in a word, nothing "could be more obliging than his whole discourse "on this subject. But, as to public affairs, he "talked in such a strain, as if a war was inevitable, "without giving the least hopes of an accommodation. "He said, that he had long perceived Cæsar to be "alienated from him, but had received a very late "instance of it; for that Hirtius came from Cæsar, "a few days before, and did not come to see him; "and when Balbus promised to bring Scipio an "account of his business, the next morning, before "day, Hirtius was gone back again to Cæsar in the "night: this he takes for a clear proof of Cæsar's "resolution to break with him. In short, I have no "other comfort, but in imagining, that he, to whom "even his enemies have voted a second consulship, "and fortune given the greatest power, will not be "so mad as to put all this to hazard: yet, if he "begins to rush on, I see many more things to be "apprehended than I dare venture to commit to "writing; at present, I propose to be at Rome on "the third of January."*

There is one little circumstance frequently touched in Cicero's letters, which gave him a particular uneasiness in his present situation, viz. his owing a sum of money to Cæsar, which he imagined might draw some reproach upon him, since he thought it

tu autem de nostro statu cogitabis: primum quo artificio tueamur benevolentiam Cæsaris—Ib. 1.

* Ad Att. 7. 4.

A. Urb. 705. Cic. 57. Coss.—L. Æmilius Paulus. C. Claudius Marcellus.

dishonourable and indecent, he says, to be a debtor to one, against whom we were acting in public affairs: yet to pay it at that time would deprive him of a part of the money which he had reserved for his triumph.* He desires Atticus, however, very earnestly, to see it paid, which was done, without doubt, accordingly, since we meet with no farther mention of it: it does not appear, nor is it easy to guess, for what occasion this debt was contracted, unless it was to supply the extraordinary expense of his buildings after his return from exile, when he complained of being in a particular want of money from that general dissipation of his fortunes.

Pompey, finding Cicero wholly bent on peace, contrived to have a second conference with him, before he reached the city, in hopes to allay his fears, and beat him off from that vain project of an accommodation, which might help to cool the zeal of his friends in the senate: he overtook him, therefore, at Lavernium, and came on with him to Formiæ, where they spent a whole afternoon in a close conversation. Pompey strongly discouraged all thoughts of a pacification, declaring, that there could be none but what was treacherous and dangerous; and that, if Cæsar should disband his army, and take the consulship, he would throw the Republic into confusion; but he was of opinion, that when he understood their preparations against him, he would drop the consulship, and hold fast his army: but if he was mad enough to come forward and act offensively, he held him in utter contempt, from a confidence in his own troops, and those of the Republic. They had got with them the copy of a speech, which Antony, one of the new tribunes, made to the people, four days before; it was a per-

* Illud tamen non desinam, dum adesse te putabo, de Cæsaris nomine rogare, ut confectum relinquas. Ib. 5. 6.

Mihi autem molestissimum est, quod solvendi sunt nummi Cæsari, et instrumentum triumphi eo conferendum. Est enim ἔμμορφον, ἀντιπολιτευομένου χρεοφειλέτην esse—ib. 7. 8.

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coss.—L. Æmilius Paulus. C. Claudius Marcellus.

petual invective on Pompey's conduct, from his first appearance in public, with great complaints against the violent and arbitrary condemnation of citizens, and the terror of his arms. After reading it over together, "what think you," says Pompey, "would "Cæsar himself do, if in possession of the Republic, "when this paltry, beggarly fellow, his quæstor, "dares to talk at this rate?" On the whole, Pompey seemed not only not to desire, but even to dread a peace.*

Cicero, however, would not still be driven from the hopes and pursuit of an accommodation; the more he observed the disposition of both parties, the more he perceived the necessity of it: the honest, as they were called, were disunited among themselves; many of them dissatisfied with Pompey; all fierce and violent; and denouncing nothing but ruin to their adversaries; he clearly foresaw, what he declared without scruple to his friends, that which side soever got the better, the war must necessarily end in a tyranny; the only difference was, that if their enemies conquered, they should be proscribed; if their friends, be slaves. Though he had an abhorrence, therefore, of Cæsar's cause, yet his advice was, to grant him his own terms, rather than try the experiment of arms, and prefer the most unjust conditions to the justest war; since, after they had been arming him against themselves, for ten years past, it was too late to think of fighting, when they had made him too strong for them.†

* Ib. 7, 8.

† De Repup. quotidie magis timeo. Non enim boni, ut putant, consentiunt. Quos ego Equites Romanos, quos Senatores vidi, qui acerrime tum cætera, tum hoc iter Pompeii vituperarent. Pace opus est, ex victoria cum multa mala, tum certe Tyrannus existet. Ib. 7. 5.

Ut si victus eris, proscribare; si vicaris, tamen servias. Ib. 7. 7.

Ad pacem hortari non desino, quæ vel injusta utilior est, quam justissimum bellum. Ib. 7. 14.

Mallem tantas ei vires non dedisset, quam nunc tam valenti resisteret. Ib. 7. 3.

Nisi forte hæc illi tum arma dedimus, ut nunc cum bene parato pugnaremus. Ib. 7. 6.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

THIS was the sum of his thoughts and counsels, when he arrived at Rome, on the fourth of January, where he found the two new consuls entirely devoted to Pompey's interests. On his approach towards the city, great multitudes came out to meet him, with all possible demonstrations of honour: his last stage was from Pompey's villa, near Alba, because his own, at Tusculum, lay out of the great road, and was not commodious for a public entry: on his arrival, as he says, he fell into the very flame of civil discord, and found the war in effect proclaimed;* for the senate, at Scipio's motion, had just voted a decree, that Cæsar should dismiss his army by a certain day, or be declared an enemy; and when M. Antony and Q. Cassius, two of the tribunes, opposed their negative to it, as they had done to every decree proposed against Cæsar, and could not be persuaded by the entreaties of their friends, to give way to the authority of the senate, they proceeded to that vote, which was the last resort in cases of extremity, that the consuls, prætors, tribunes, and all who were about the city with proconsular power, should take care that the Republic received no detriment. As this was supposed to arm the magistrates with an absolute power to treat all men as they pleased, whom they judged to be enemies, so the two tribunes, together with Curio, immediately withdrew themselves upon it, and fled in disguise to Cæsar's camp, on pretence of danger and violence to their persons, though none was yet offered or designed to them.†

M. Antony, who now began to make a figure in

* Ego ad urbem accessi prid. non. Jan. obviam mihi sic est proditum, ut nihil possit fieri ornatius. Sed incidi in ipsam flammam civilis discordiæ vel potius belli——Ep. Fam. 16. 11.

Ego in Tusculanum nihil hoc tempore. Devium est τοῖς ἀπαντῶσι, &c. Ad Att. 7. 5.

† Antonius quidem noster et Q. Cassius, nulla vi expulsi, ad Cæsarem cum Curione profecti erant; postea quam Senatus Consulibus Prætoribus, Tribunis plebis et nobis qui Proconsules sumus, negotium dederat, ut curaremus, ne quid Resp. detrimenti caperet—Ep. Fam. 16. 11.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

the affairs of Rome, was of an ancient and noble extraction: the grandson of that celebrated statesman and orator, who lost his life in the massacres of Marius and Cinna: his father, as it is already related, had been honoured with one of the most important commissions of the Republic; but, after an inglorious discharge of it, died with the character of a corrupt, oppressive, and rapacious commander. The son, trained in the discipline of such a parent, whom he lost when he was very young, launched out at once into all the excess of riot and debauchery, and wasted his whole patrimony before he had put on the manly gown; shewing himself to be the genuine son of that father, who was born, as Sallust says, to squander money, without ever employing a thought on business, till a present necessity urged him. His comely person, lively wit, insinuating address, made young Curio infinitely fond of him; so that, in spite of the commands of a severe father, who had often turned Antony out of doors, and forbidden him his house, he could not be prevailed with to forsake his company; but supplied him with money for his frolics and amours, till he had involved himself, on his account, in a debt of fifty thousand pounds. This greatly afflicted old Curio; and Cicero was called in to heal the distress of the family, whom the son entreated, with tears in his eyes, to intercede for Antony, as well as for himself, and not suffer them to be parted: but Cicero, having prevailed with the father to make his son easy, by discharging his debts, advised him to insist upon it, as a condition, and to enforce it by his paternal power, that he should have no farther commerce with Antony.* This laid the foundation

* Tenesne memoria prætextatum te decoxisse?——nemo unquam puer emptus libidinis causa tam fuit in domini potestate, quam tu in Curionis. Quoties te pater ejus domo suo ejecit?——scisne me de rebus mihi notissimis dicere? recordare tempus illud, cum pater Curio mœrens jacebat in lecto; filius se ad pedes meos prosternens, lacrymans te mihi commendabat, orabat, ut te contra patrem suum, si II-S. sexagies peteret defenderem: tantum enim se pro te intercessisse: ipse autem amore ardens confirmabat, quod desiderium tui discidii ferre non posset—quo ego

A. Urb. 704. Ole. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

of an early aversion in Antony to Cicero, increased still by the perpetual course of Antony's life, which fortune happened to throw among Cicero's inveterate enemies: for, by the second marriage of his mother, he became son-in-law to that Lentulus, who was put to death for conspiring with Catiline, by whom he was initiated into all the cabals of a traitorous faction, and infected with principles pernicious to the liberty of Rome. To revenge the death of this father he attached himself to Clodius, and, during his tribunate, was one of the ministers of all his violences; yet was detected, at the same time, in some criminal intrigue in his family, injurious to the honour of his patron.* From this education in the city, he went abroad, to learn the art of war under Gabinius, the most profligate of all generals; who gave him the command of his horse in Syria, where he signalized his courage in the restoration of King Ptolemy, and acquired the first taste of martial glory, in an expedition undertaken against the laws and religion of his country.† From Egypt, instead of coming home, where his debts would not suffer him to be easy, he went to Cæsar into Gaul, the sure refuge of all the needy, the desperate, and the audacious: and, after some stay in that province, being furnished with money and credit by Cæsar, he returned to Rome, to sue for the quæstorship.‡ Cæsar recommended him, in a pressing manner, to Cicero, entreating him to accept Antony's submission, and pardon him for what was past, and to assist him in his present suit; with

tempore tanta mala florentissimæ familiæ sedavi vel potius sustuli: patri persuasi, ut æs alienum filii dissolveret, &c.——[Philip. 2. 18.—] M. Antonius, perdundæ pecuniæ genitus, vacuusque curis, nisi instantibus. Sallust. Hist. Fragm. l. iii.

* Te domi P. Lentuli educatum—[Philip. 2. 7.] Intimus erat in tribunatu Clodio—ejus omnium incendiorum fax—cujus etiam domi quiddam jam tum molitus est, &c. Ib. 19.

† Inde iter Alexandriam, contra Senatus auctoritatem, contra Rempub. et religiones: sed habebat ducem Gabinium, &c. Ib.

‡ Prius in ultimam Galliam ex Ægypto quam domum—venisti e Gallia ad Quæsturam petendam.—Ib.—Vid. Plut. in Anton.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 53. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

which Cicero readily complied, and obliged Antony so highly by it, that he declared war presently against Clodius, whom he attacked with great fierceness in the Forum, and would certainly have killed, if he had not found means to hide himself under some stairs. Antony openly gave out, that he owed all this to Cicero's generosity, to whom he could never make amends for former injuries, but by the destruction of his enemy, Clodius.* Being chosen quæstor, he went back immediately to Cæsar, without expecting his lot, or a decree of the senate, to appoint him his province: where, though he had all imaginable opportunities of acquiring money, yet, by squandering as fast as he got it, he came a second time empty and beggarly to Rome, to put in for the tribunate: in which office, after the example of his friend Curio, having sold himself to Cæsar, he was, as Cicero says, as much the cause of the ensuing war, as Helen was of that of Troy.†

It is certain, at least, that Antony's flight gave the immediate pretext to it, as Cicero had foretold: "Cæsar," says he, "will betake himself to arms, "either for our want of preparation, or if no regard "be had to him at the election of consuls: but "especially if any tribune, obstructing the delibe- "rations of the senate, or exciting the people to "sedition, should happen to be censured or over- "ruled, or taken off, or expelled, or, pretending to "be expelled, run away to him."‡ In the same letter, he gives a short but true state of the merit of

* Acceperam jam ante Cæsaris litteras, ut mihi satisfieri paterer a te—postea custoditus sum a te, tu a me observatus in petitione Quæsturæ, quo quidem tempore P. Clodium—in foro es conatus occidere—ita prædicabas, te non existimare, nisi illum interfecisses, unquam mihi pro tuis in me injuriis satis esse facturum——Ib. 20.

Cum se ille fugiens in scalarum tenebras abdidisset, &c. Pro Mil. 15.

† Deinde sine Senatus consulto, sine sorte, sine lege ad Cæsarem cucurristi. Id enim unum in terris egestaris, æris alieni, nequitiæ, perditis vitæ rationibus perfugium esse ducebas—advolasti egens ad Tribunatum, ut in eo Magistratu, si posses, viri tui similis esse——ut Helena Trojanis, sic iste huic Reipub. causa belli, &c.—— Philip. 2. 21. 22.

‡ Aut addita causa, si forte Tribunus pleb. Senatum impediens, aut populum incitans notatus, aut Senatus consulto circumscriptus, aut sublatus aut expulsus sit, dicensve se expulsum ad se confugerit. Ad Att. 7. 9.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

his cause: "What," says he, "can be more impu-
"dent? You have held your government ten years,
"not granted to you by the senate, but extorted by
"violence and faction: the full term is expired, not
"of the law, but of your licentious will: but allow
"it to be a law; it is now decreed, that you must
"have a successor: you refuse, and say, have some
"regard to me: do you first shew your regard to
"us: will you pretend to keep an army longer than
"the people ordered, and contrary to the will of
"the senate?"* But Cæsar's strength lay not in the goodness of his cause, but of his troops:† a considerable part of which he was now drawing together towards the confines of Italy, to be ready to enter into action at any warning: the flight of the tribunes gave him a plausible handle to begin, and seemed to sanctify his attempt; but "his real mo-
"tive," says Plutarch, "was the same that ani-
"mated Cyrus and Alexander before him to dis-
"turb the peace of mankind; the unquenchable
"thirst of empire, and the wild ambition of being
"the greatest man in the world, which was not pos-
"sible, till Pompey was first destroyed."‡ Laying hold, therefore, of the occasion, he presently passed the Rubicon, which was the boundary of his province on that side of Italy, and marching forward, in an hostile manner, possessed himself, without resistance, of the next great towns in his way, Ariminum, Pisaurum, Ancona, Aretium, &c.§

In this confused and disordered state of the city, Cicero's friends were soliciting the decree of his triumph, to which the whole senate signified their

* Ib. it. Ep. Fam. 16. 11.

† Alterius ducis causa melior videbatur, alterius erat firmior. Hic omnia speciosa, illic valentia. Pompeium Senatus auctoritas, Cæsarem militum armavit fiducia. Vell. Pat. 2. 49.

‡ Plut. in Anton.

§ An ille id faciat, quod paullo ante decretum est, ut exercitum citra Rubiconem, qui finis est Galliæ, educeret? Philip. 6. 3.

Itaque cum Cæsar amentia quadam raperetur, et—Ariminum, Pisaurum, Anconam, Aretium occupavisset, urbem reliquimus. Ep. Fam. 16. 12.

A. Urb. 704, Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus, L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

ready consent: but the consul Lentulus, to make the favour more particularly his own, desired that it might be deferred for a while, till the public affairs were better settled, giving his word, that he would then be the mover of it himself.* But Cæsar's sudden march towards Rome, put an end to all farther thoughts of it, and struck the senate with such a panic, that, as if he had been already at the gates, they resolved presently to quit the city, and retreat towards the southern parts of Italy. All the principal senators had particular districts assigned to their care, to be provided with troops and all materials of defence against Cæsar. Cicero had Capua, with the inspection of the sea-coast from Formiæ; he would not accept any greater charge for the sake of preserving his authority in the task of mediating a peace;† and for the same reason, when he perceived his new province wholly unprovided against an enemy, and that it was impossible to hold Capua without a strong garrison, he resigned his employment, and chose not to act at all.‡

Capua had always been the common seminary or place of educating gladiators for the great men of Rome; where Cæsar had a famous school of them at this time, which he had long maintained under

* Nobis tamen inter has turbas Senatus frequens flagitavit triumphum: sed LENTULUS consul, quo majus suum beneficium faceret, simul atque expedisset quæ essent necessaria de Repub. dixit se relaturum. Ep. Fam. 16. 11.

† Ego negotio præsum non turbulento: vult enim me Pompeius esse, quem tota hæc Campana et maritima ora habeat ἐπίσκοπον ad quem delectus et summa negotii referatur. Ad Att. 7. 11.

Ego ad huc oræ maritimæ præsuma Formiis. Nullum majus negotium suscipere volui, quo plus apud illum meæ litteræ cohortationesque ad pacem valerent. Ep. Fam. 16. 12.

‡ Nam certe neque tum peccavi, cum imparatam jam Capuam, non solum ignaviæ delectus, sed etiam perfidiæ suspicionem fugiens, accipere nolui. Ad Att. 8. 12.

Quod tibi ostenderam, cum a me Capuam rejiciebam: quod feci non vitandi oneris causa, sed quod videbam teneri illam urbem sine exercitu non posse. Ep. Cic. ad Pomp. Ad Att. 8. 11.

As Cicero, when proconsul of *Cilicia*, often mentions the *Dioceses* that were annexed to his government, (Ep. Fam. 13. 67.) so in this command of *Capua* he calls himself the *Episcopus* of the Campanian coast: which shews, that these names, which were appropriated afterwards in the Christian church to characters and powers ecclesiastical, carried with them, in their original use, the notion of a real authority and jurisdiction.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58, Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

the best masters for the occasions of his public shows in the city; and as they were very numerous and well furnished with arms, there was reason to apprehend that they would break out, and make some attempt in favour of their master, which might have been of dangerous consequence in the present circumstances of the Republic; so that Pompey thought it necessary to take them out of their school, and distribute them among the principal inhabitants of the place, assigning two to each master of a family, by which he secured them from doing any mischief.*

While the Pompeian party was under no small dejection on account of Pompey's quitting the city, and retreating from the approach of Cæsar, T. Labienus, one of the chief commanders on the other side, deserted Cæsar, and came over to them, which added some new life to their cause, and raised an expectation, that many more would follow his example. Labienus had eminently distinguished himself in the Gallic war, where, next to Cæsar himself, he had borne the principal part; and, by Cæsar's favour, had raised an immense fortune; so that he was much caressed, and carried about every where, by Pompey, who promised himself great service from his fame and experience, and especially from his credit in Cæsar's army, and the knowledge of all his counsels; but his account of things, like that of all deserters, was accommodated rather to please, than to serve his new friends; representing the weakness of Cæsar's troops, their aversion to his present designs, the disaffection of the two Gauls, and disposition to revolt; the contrary of all which was found to be true in the experiment: and as he came to them single, without bringing with him any of those troops with which he had acquired his reputation, so his desertion had no other effect than to ruin

* Gladiatores Cæsaris, qui Capuæ sunt—sane commode Pompeius distribuit, binos singulis patribus familiarum. Scutorum in ludo loo fuerunt eruptionem facturi fuisse dicebantur—sane multum in eo Reip. provisum est. Ad Att. 7. 14.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 53. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

his own fortunes, without doing any service to Pompey.*

But what gave a much better prospect to all honest men, was the proposal of an accommodation, which came about this time from Cæsar; who, while he was pushing on the war with incredible vigour, talked of nothing but peace, and endeavoured particularly to persuade Cicero, that he had no other view than to secure himself from the insults of his enemies, and yield the first rank in the state to Pompey.† The conditions were, that Pompey should go to his government of Spain, that his new levies should be dismissed, and his garrisons withdrawn, and that Cæsar should deliver up his provinces, the farther Gaul to Domitius, the hither to Considius, and sue for the consulship in person, without requiring the privilege of absence. These terms were readily embraced in a grand counsel of the chiefs, at Capua, and young L. Cæsar, who brought them, was sent back with letters from Pompey, and the addition only of one preliminary article, that Cæsar, in the meanwhile, should recal his troops from the towns which he had seized, beyond his own jurisdiction, so that the senate might return to Rome, and settle the whole affair with honour and freedom.‡ Cicero was present at this council, of which he gave an account to Atticus: "I came to Capua," says he,

* Maximam autem plagam accepit, quod is, qui summam auctoritatem in illius exercitu habebat, T. Labienus socius sceleris esse noluit: reliquit illum, et nobiscum est: multique idem facturi dicuntur. Ep. Fam. 16. 12.

Aliquantum animi videtur attulisse nobis Labienus. Ad Att. 7. 13.

Labienum secum habet (Pompeius) non dubitantem de imbecillitate Cæsaris copiarum: cujus adventu Cnæus noster multo animi plus habet. Ib. 7. 16.

Nam in Labieno parum est dignitatis. Ib, 8. 2.

——————*fortis in armis*
Cæsareis Labienus erat: nunc transfuga vilis. Lucan. 5. 345.

† Balbus major ad me scribit, nihil malle Cæsarem, quam principe, Pompeio, sine metu vivere. Tu, puto, hæc credis. Ad Att. 8. 9.

‡ Feruntur omnino conditiones ab illo, ut Pompeius eat in Hispaniam; dilectus, qui sunt habiti, et præsidia nostra dimittantur: se ulteriorem Galliam Domitio, citeriorem Considio Nonniano—traditurum. Ad Consulatus petitionem se venturum; neque se jam velle, absente se, rationem sui haberi. Ep. Fam. 16. 12. Ad Att. 7. 14.

Accepimus conditiones; sed ita, ut removeat præsidia ex iis locis, quæ occupavit, ut sine metu de iis ipsis conditionibus Romæ Senatus haberi possit. Ib.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

"yesterday, the twenty-sixth of January, where I "met the consuls, and many of our order: they all "wished that Cæsar would stand to his conditions, "and withdraw his troops: Favonius alone was "against all conditions imposed by Cæsar, but was "little regarded by the council; for Cato himself "would now rather live a slave, than fight; and de- "clares, that if Cæsar recal his garrisons, he will at- "tend the senate, when the conditions come to be "settled, and not go to Sicily, where his service is "more necessary, which I am afraid will be of ill "consequence:—there is a strange variety in our "sentiments; the greatest part are of opinion, that "Cæsar will not stand to his terms, and that these "offers are made only to hinder our preparations; "but I am apt to think that he will withdraw his "troops: for he gets the better of us by being made "consul, and with less iniquity, than in the way which "he is now pursuing; and we cannot possibly come "off without some loss; for we are scandalously un- "provided both with soldiers and with money, since "all that, which was either private in the city, or "public in the treasury, is left a prey to him."*

During the suspence of this treaty, and the ex pectation of Cæsar's answer, Cicero began to conceive some hopes that both sides were relenting, and disposed to make up the quarrel—Cæsar, from a reflection on his rashness, and the senate on their want of preparation: but he still suspected Cæsar, and the sending a message so important by a person so insignificant as young Lucius Cæsar, looked, he says, as if he had done it by way of contempt, or with a view to disclaim it, especially when, after offering conditions, which were likely to be accepted, he would not sit still to wait an answer, but continued his march, with the same diligence, and in the same hostile manner, as before.† His suspicions proved

* Ad Att. 7. 15.

† Spero in præsentia pacem nos habere. Nam et illum furoris, et hunc nostrum copiarum suppœnitet. Ib.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

true; for by letters, which came soon after from Furnius and Curio, he perceived that they made a mere jest of the embassy.*

It seems very evident that Cæsar had no real thoughts of peace, by his paying no regard to Pompey's answer, and the trifling reasons which he gave for slighting it:† but he had a double view in offering those conditions; for, by Pompey's rejecting them, as there was reason to expect, from his known aversion to any treaty, he hoped to load him with the odium of the war; or, by his embracing them, to slacken his preparations, and retard his design of leaving Italy; whilst he himself, in the mean time, by following him, with a celerity that amazed every body,‡ might chance to come up with him before he could embark, and give a decisive blow to the war; from which he had nothing to apprehend, but its being drawn into length. "I now plainly see," says Cicero, "though later indeed than I could have "wished, on account of the assurances given me by "Balbus, that he aims at nothing else, nor has ever "aimed at any thing from the beginning, but Pom"pey's life."§

If we consider this famous passage of the Rubicon, abstractedly from the event, it seems to have been so hazardous and desperate, that Pompey

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Tamen vereor ut his ipsis (Cæsar) contentus sit. Nam cum ista mandata dedisset L. Cæsari, debuit esse paullo quietior, dum responsa referrentur. Ib. 7. 17.

Cæsarem quidem, L. Cæsare cum mandatis de pace misso, tamen aiunt acerrime loca occupare. Ib. 18.

L. Cæsarem vidi——ut id ipsum mihi ille videatur irridendi causa fecisse, qui tantis de rebus huic mandata dederit, nisi forte non dedit, et hic sermone aliquo arrepto pro mandatis abusus est. Ib. 13.

* Accepi litteras tuas, Philotimi, Furnii, Curionis ad Furnium, quibus irridet L. Cæsaris legationem. Ib. 19.

† Cæs. Comment. de Bell. civ. l. 1.

‡ O celeritatem incredibilem! Ad Att. 7. 22. Cicero calls him a monster of vigilance and celerity [Ib. 8. 9.]; for, from his passage of the Rubicon, though he was forced to take in all the great towns on his road, and spent seven days before Corfinium, yet in less than two months he marched through the whole length of Italy, and came before the gates of Brundisium before Pompey could embark on the 9th of March. Ad Att. 9. 13.

§ Intelligo serius equidem quam vellem, propter epistolas sermonesque Balbi, sed video plane nihil aliud agi, nihil actum ab initio, quam ut hunc occideret. Ad Att. 9. 5.

might reasonably contemn the thought of it, as of an attempt too rash for any prudent man to venture upon. If Cæsar's view, indeed, had been to possess himself only of Italy, there could have been no difficulty in it: his army was undoubtedly the best which was then in the world; flushed with victory, animated with zeal for the person of their general, and an over-match for any which could be brought against it into the field: but this single army was all that he had to trust to; he had no resource: the loss of one battle was certain ruin to him; and yet, he must necessarily run the risk of many, before he could gain his end: for the whole empire was armed against him; every province offered a fresh enemy, and a fresh field of action, where he was like to be exposed to the same danger as on the plains of Pharsalia. But, above all, his enemies were masters of the sea, so that he could not transport his forces abroad, without the hazard of their being destroyed by a superior fleet, or of being starved at land by the difficulty of conveying supplies and provisions to them: Pompey relied chiefly on this single circumstance, and was persuaded, that it must necessarily determine the war in his favour;* so that it seems surprising, how such a superiority of advantage, in the hands of so great a commander, could possibly fail of success; and we must admire rather the fortune than the conduct of Cæsar, for carrying him safe through all these difficulties to the possession of the empire.

Cicero seldom speaks of his attempt, but as a kind of madness,† and seemed to retain some hopes, to the last, that he would not persist in it: the same imagination made Pompey and the senate so resolute to defy, when they were in no condition to oppose him. Cæsar, on the other hand, might pro-

* Existimat, (Pompeius) qui mare teneat, eum necesse rerum potiri—itaque navalis apparatus ei semper antiquissima cura fuit. Ib. 10. 8.

† Cum Cæsar amentia quadam raperetur. Ep. Fam. 16. 12.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

bably imagine, that their stiffness proceeded from a vain conceit of their strength, which would induce them to venture a battle with him in Italy; in which case he was sure enough to beat them: so that both sides were drawn farther, perhaps, than they intended, by mistaking each other's views. Cæsar, I say, might well apprehend, that they designed to try their strength with him in Italy; for that was the constant persuasion of the whole party, who thought it the best scheme which could be pursued: Pompey humoured them in it, and always talked big to keep up their spirits; and though he saw, from the first, the necessity of quitting Italy, yet he kept the secret to himself, and wrote word, at the same time, to Cicero, that he should have a firm army in a few days, with which he would march against Cæsar into Picenum, so as to give them an opportunity of returning to the city.* The plan of the war, as it was commonly understood, was to possess themselves of the principal posts of Italy, and act chiefly on the defensive, in order to distress Cæsar, by their different armies, cut off his opportunities of forage, hinder his access to Rome, and hold him continually employed, till the veteran army from Spain, under Pompey's lieutenants, Afranius, Petreius, and Varro, could come up to finish his overthrow.† This was the notion which the senate entertained of the war; they never conceived it possible, that Pompey should submit to the disgrace of flying before Cæsar, and giving up

* Omnes nos ἀστροφωνήτους, expertes sui tanti et tam inusitati consilii relinquebat, Ad Att. 8. 8.

Pompeius—ad me scribit, paucis diebus se firmum exercitum habiturum, spemque affert, si in Picenum agrum ipse venerit, nos Romam redituros esse. Ib. 7. 16.

† Suscepto autem bello, aut tenenda sit urbs, aut ea relicta, ille commeatu et reliquis copiis intercludendus. Ad Att. 7. 9.

Sin autem ille suis conditionibus stare noluerit, bellum paratum est:—tantummodo ut eum intercludamus, ne ad urbem possit accedere: quod sperabamus fieri posse: dilectus enim magnos habebamus—ex Hispaniaque sex legiones et magna auxilia, Afranio et Petreio ducibus, habet a tergo. Videtur, si insaniet, posse opprimi, modo ut urbe salva. Ep. Fam. 16. 12.

Summa autem spes Afranium cum magnis copiis adventare. Ad Att. 8. 3.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

Italy a prey to his enemy. In this confidence Domitius, with a very considerable force, and some of the principal senators, threw himself into Corfinium, a strong town at the foot of the Appennine, on the Adriatic side, where he proposed to make a stand against Cæsar, and stop the progress of his march; but he lost all his troops in the attempt, to the number of three legions, for want of knowing Pompey's secret. Pompey, indeed, when he saw what Domitius intended, pressed him earnestly, by several letters, to come away and join with him, telling him, that it was impossible to make any opposition to Cæsar, till their whole forces were united; and that, as to himself, he had with him only the two legions which were recalled from Cæsar, and were not to be trusted against him: and if Domitius should entangle himself in Corfinium, so as to be precluded by Cæsar from a retreat, that he could not come to his relief with so weak an army, and bade him, therefore, not to be surprised to hear of his retiring, if Cæsar should persist to march towards him:* yet Domitius, prepossessed with the opinion, that Italy was to be the seat of the war, and that Pompey would never suffer so good a body of troops, and so many of his best friends to be lost, would not quit the advantageous post of Corfinium, but depended still on being relieved; and when he was actually besieged, sent Pompey word, how easily Cæsar might be intercepted between their two armies.†

Cicero was as much disappointed as any of the rest; he had never dreamt of their being obliged to quit Italy, till, by Pompey's motions, he per-

* Nos disjecta manu pares adversariis esse non possumus.—Quamobrem nolito commoveri, si audieris me regredi, si forte Cæsar ad me veniet.—etiam atque etiam te hortor, ut cum omni copia quam primum ad me venias. Vid. Epist. Pomp. ad Domit. Ad Att. 8. 12.

† Domitius ad Pompeium—mittit, qui petant atque orent, ut sibi subveniat: Cæsarem duobus exercitibus, et locorum angustiis intercludi posse, frumentoque prohiberi, &c.

Cæs. Comment. de Bell. civ. l. i.

ceived, at last, his intentions; of which he speaks, with great severity, in several of his letters, and begs Atticus's advice upon that new face of their affairs; and to enable Atticus to give it the more clearly, he explains to him, in short, what occurred to his own mind on the one side and the other. "The great "obligations," says he, "which I am under to Pom- "pey, and my particular friendship with him, as "well as the cause of the Republic itself, seem to "persuade me, that I ought to join my counsels and "fortunes with his. Besides, if I stay behind, "and desert that band of the best and most emi- "nent citizens, I must fall under the power of a "single person, who gives me many proofs, indeed, "of being my friend, and whom, as you know, I "had long ago taken care to make such, from a "suspicion of this very storm which now hangs "over us; yet it should be well considered, both "how far I may venture to trust him, and, suppos- "ing it clear that I may trust him, whether it be "consistent with the character of a firm and honest "citizen to continue in that city, in which he has "borne the greatest honours, and performed the "greatest acts, and where he is now invested with "the most honourable priesthood, when it is to be "attended with some danger, and perhaps with "some disgrace, if Pompey should ever restore the "Republic. These are the difficulties on the one "side; let us see what there are on the other: no- "thing has hitherto been done by our Pompey, "either with prudence or courage; I may add, also, "nothing but what was contrary to my advice and "authority: I will omit those old stories, how he "first nursed, raised, and armed this man against "the Republic; how he supported him in carrying "his laws by violence, and without regard to the "auspices; how he added the farther Gaul to his "government, made himself his son-in-law, assisted "as augur in the adoption of Clodius, was more

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

" zealous to restore me, than to prevent my being " expelled, enlarged the term of Cæsar's command, " served him in all his affairs in his absence, nay, " in his third consulship, after he began to espouse " the interests of the Republic, how he insisted, that " the ten tribunes should jointly propose a law to " dispense with his absence in suing for the consul- " ship, which he confirmed afterwards by a law of " his own, and opposed the consul Marcellus, when " he moved to put an end to his government on the " first of March: but to omit, I say, all this, what " can be more dishonourable, or shew a greater " want of conduct, than this retreat, or rather " shameful flight from the city? what conditions " were not preferable to the necessity of abandon- " ing our country? the conditions, I confess, were " bad; yet what can be worse than this? but Pom- " pey, you'll say, will recover the Republic: when? " or what preparation is there for it? is not all Pi- " cenum lost? is not the way left open to the city? " is not all our treasure, both public and private, " given up to the enemy? In a word, there is no " party, no forces, no places of rendezvous for the " friends of the Republic to resort to; Apulia is " chosen for our retreat; the weakest and remotest " part of Italy, which implies nothing but despair, " and a design of flying by the opportunity of the " sea," &c.* In another letter, " there is but one " thing wanting," says he, " to complete our friend's " disgrace; his failing to succour Domitius: no- " body doubts but that he will come to his relief; yet " I am not of that mind. Will he then desert such " a citizen, and the rest, whom you know to be " with him? especially when he has thirty cohorts " in the [illegible]? yes, unless all things deceive me, he " will desert [illegible] is [illegible]rely frightened; means " nothing but [illegible] fly; [illegible] for I perceive what " your opinion is, think, that I ought to follow this

* Ad Att. 8. 3.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

" man. For my part, I easily know, whom I ought " to fly, not whom I ought to follow. As to that " saying of mine, which you extol, and think wor- " thy to be celebrated, that I had rather be con- " quered with Pompey, than conquer with Cæsar, " it is true, I still say so; but with such a Pompey " as he then was, or as I took him to be: but, as for " this man, who runs away before he knows from " whom, or whither; who has betrayed us and ours, " given up his country, and is now leaving Italy; if " I had rather be conquered with him, the thing is " over, I am conquered," &c.*

There was a notion, in the meanwhile, that universally prevailed through Italy, of Cæsar's cruel and revengeful temper, from which horrible effects were apprehended: Cicero himself was strongly possessed with it, as appears from many of his letters, where he seems to take it for granted, that he would be a second Phalaris, not a Pisistratus; a bloody, not a gentle tyrant. This he inferred from the violence of his past life; the nature of his present enterprise; and, above all, from the character of his friends and followers; who were, generally speaking, a needy, profligate, audacious crew; prepared for every thing that was desperate.† It was affirmed, likewise, with great confidence, that he had openly declared, that he was now coming to revenge the deaths of Cn. Carbo, M. Brutus, and all the other Marian chiefs, whom Pompey, when acting under Sylla, had cruelly put to death for their opposition to the Syllan cause.‡ But there was no real ground for any of these suspicions: for Cæsar, who thought

* Ad Att. 8. 7.

† Istum cujus φαλαρισμὸν timeo, omnia teterrime facturum puto. Ad Att. 7. 12.
Incertum est Phalarimne an Pisistratum sit imitaturus—Ib. 20.
Nam cædem video si vicerit——et regnum non modo Romano homini sed ne Persæ quidem tolerabile—Ib. 10. 8.
Qui hic potest se gerere non perdite? vita, mores, ante facta, ratio suscepti negotii, socii—Ib. 9. 2. it. 9. 19.

‡ Atque eum loqui quidam αἰθεντικὰς narrabant; Cn. Carbonis, M. Bruti se pœnas persequi, &c. Ad Att. 9. 14.

tyranny, as Cicero says, the greatest of goddesses, and whose sole view it had been, through life, to bring his affairs to this crisis, and to make a bold push for empire, had, from the observation of past times, and the fate of former tyrants, laid it down for a maxim, that clemency in victory was the best means of securing the stability of it.* Upon the surrender, therefore, of Corfinium, where he had the first opportunity of giving a public specimen of himself, he shewed a noble example of moderation, by the generous dismission of Domitius, and all the other senators who fell into his hands; among whom was Lentulus Spinther, Cicero's particular friend.† This made a great turn in his favour, by easing people of the terrors which they had before conceived of him, and seemed to confirm what he affected every where to give out, that he sought nothing by the war but the security of his person and dignity. Pompey, on the other hand, appeared every day more and more despicable, by flying before an enemy, whom his pride and perverseness was said to have driven to the necessity of taking arms.—"Tell me, I "beg of you," says Cicero, "what can be more "wretched, than for the one to be gathering ap- "plause from the worst of causes, the other giving "offence in the best? the one to be reckoned the "preserver of his enemies, the other the deserter of "his friends? and, in truth, though I have all the "affection which I ought to have for our friend "Cnæus, yet, I cannot excuse his not coming to the "relief of such men: for if he was afraid to do it, "what can be more paltry? or if, as some think, he "thought to make his cause the more popular, by

* τὴν θεῶν μεγίστην ὥστ' ἴσχειν τυραννίδα. Ad Att. 7. 11.

Tentemus hoc modo, si possumus, omnium voluntates recuperare, et diuturna victoria uti: quoniam reliqui crudelitate odium effugere non potuerunt, neque victoriam diutius tenere, præter unum L. Syllam, quem imitaturus non sum. Hæc nova sit ratio vincendi; ut misericordia et liberalitate nos muniamus. Ep. Cæs. ad Opp. Att. 9. 7.

† Cæs. Comment. l. . Plut. in Cæs.—

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

"their destruction, what can be more unjust?"* &c. From this first experiment of Cæsar's clemency, Cicero took occasion to send him a letter of compliment, and to thank him particularly for his generous treatment of Lentulus, who, when consul, had been the chief author of his restoration: to which Cæsar returned the following answer:

"CÆSAR, EMPEROR, TO CICERO, EMPEROR.

"You judge rightly of me, for I am thoroughly "known to you, that nothing is farther removed "from me than cruelty; and, as I have a great plea- "sure from the thing itself, so I rejoice and triumph "to find my act approved by you: nor does it at "all move me, that those, who were dismissed by "me, are said to be gone away to renew the war "against me; for I desire nothing more, than that I "may always act like myself; they like themselves. "I wish that you would meet me at the city, that I "may use your counsel and assistance, as I have "hitherto done in all things. Nothing, I assure "you, is dearer to me than Dolabella; I will owe "this favour therefore to him: nor is it possible for "him, indeed, to behave otherwise, such is his hu- "manity, his good sense, and his affection to me. "Adieu."†

When Pompey, after the unhappy affair of Corfinium, found himself obliged to retire to Brundisium, and to declare, what he had never before directly owned, his design of quitting Italy, and carrying the war abroad;‡ he was very desirous to draw Cicero along with him, and wrote two letters to him at Formiæ, to press him to come away directly; but

* Sed obsecro te quid hoc miserius, quam alterum plausus in fœdissima causa quærere; alterum offensiones in optima? alterum existimari conservatorem inimicorum, alterum desertorem amicorum? et mehercule quamvis amemus Cnæum nostrum, ut et facimus et debemus, tamen hoc, quod talibus viris non subvenit, laudare non possum. Nam sive timuit quid ignavius? sive, ut quidam putant, meliorem suam causam illorum cæde fore putavit, quid injustius? Ad Att. 8. 9.

† Ad Att. 9. 16.

‡ Qui amisso Corfinio denique me certiorem consilii sui fecit. Ib. 9. 2.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

Cicero, already much out of humour with him, was disgusted still the more by his short and negligent manner of writing, upon an occasion so important:* the second of Pompey's letters, with Cicero's answer, will explain the present state of their affairs, and Cicero's sentiments upon them.

"CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS, PROCONSUL, TO M. CICERO, EMPEROR.

"If you are in good health, I rejoice: I read your "letter with pleasure: for I perceived in it your an- "cient virtue, by your concern for the common "safety. The consuls are come to the army, which "I had in Apulia: I earnestly exhort you, by your "singular and perpetual affection to the Republic, "to come also to us, that, by our joint advice, we "may give help and relief to the afflicted state. I "would have you make the Appian way your road, "and come in all haste to Brundisium. Take care "of your health."

"M. CICERO, EMPEROR, TO CN. MAGNUS, PROCONSUL.

"When I sent that letter, which was delivered to "you at Canusium, I had no suspicion of your cross- "ing the sea for the service of the Republic, and "was in great hopes, that we should be able, either "to bring about an accommodation, which to me "seemed the most useful, or to defend the Republic "with the greatest dignity in Italy. In the mean- "time, before my letter reached you, being informed "of your resolution, by the instructions which you "sent to the consuls, I did not wait till I could have "a letter from you, but set out immediately towards "you with my brother and our children for Apulia. "When we were come to Theanum, your friend C. "Messius, and many others, told us, that Cæsar was "on the road to Capua, and would lodge that very

* Epistolarum Pompeii duarum, quas ad me misit, negligentiam meamque in scribendo diligentiam, volui tibi notam esse: earum exempla ad te misi. Ib. 8. 11.

" night at Æsernia: I was much disturbed at it, be-
" cause, if it was true, I not only took my journey
" to be precluded, but myself also to be certainly a
" prisoner. I went on, therefore, to Cales, with in-
" tent to stay there, till I could learn from Æsernia
" the certainty of my intelligence: at Cales there
" was brought to me a copy of the letter, which you
" wrote to the consul Lentulus, with which you sent
" the copy also of one that you had received from
" Domitius, dated the eighteenth of February, and
" signified, that it was of great importance to the
" Republic, that all the troops should be drawn to-
" gether, as soon as possible, to one place; yet, so
" as to leave a sufficient garrison in Capua. Upon
" reading these letters, I was of the same opinion
" with all the rest, that you were resolved to march
" to Corfinium with all your forces, whither, when
" Cæsar lay before the town, I thought it impossible
" for me to come. While this affair was in the ut-
" most expectation, we were informed, at one and
" the same time, both of what had happened at Cor-
" finium, and that you were actually marching to-
" wards Brundisium: and when I and my brother
" resolved, without hesitation, to follow you thither,
" we were advertised by many, who came from Sam-
" nium and Apulia, to take care that we did not fall
" into Cæsar's hands, for that he was upon his march
" to the same places where our road lay, and would
" reach them sooner than we could possibly do.
" This being the case, it did not seem advisable to
" me, or my brother, or any of our friends, to run
" the risk of hurting, not only ourselves, but the
" Republic, by our rashness; especially when we
" could not doubt, but that, if the journey had been
" safe to us, we should not then be able to overtake
" you. In the meanwhile, I received your letter,
" dated from Canusium, the twenty-first of Febru-
" ary, in which you exhort me to come in all haste
" to Brundisium: but as I did not receive it till the

"twenty-ninth, I made no question but that you "were already arrived at Brundisium, and all that "road seemed wholly shut up to us, and we our- "selves as surely intercepted as those who were "taken at Corfinium: for we did not reckon them "only to be prisoners, who were actually fallen into "the enemy's hands, but those too not less so, who "happen to be inclosed within the quarters and "garrisons of their adversaries. Since this is our "case, I heartily wish, in the first place, that I had "always been with you, as I then told you when I "relinquished the command of Capua, which I did "not do for the sake of avoiding trouble, but be- "cause I saw that the town could not be held with- "out an army, and was unwilling that the same ac- "cident should happen to me, which, to my sorrow, "has happened to some of our bravest citizens at "Corfinium: but since it has not been my lot to be "with you, I wish that I had been made privy to "your counsels; for I could not possibly suspect, "and should sooner have believed any thing, than "that, for the good of the Republic, under such a "leader as you, we should not be able to stand our "ground in Italy: nor do I now blame your con- "duct, but lament the fate of the Republic; and "though I cannot comprehend what it is which you "have followed, yet, I am not the less persuaded, "that you have done nothing, but with the greatest "reason. You remember, I believe, what my opi- "nion always was; first, to preserve peace, even on "bad conditions; then about leaving the city; for "as to Italy, you never intimated a tittle to me "about it: but I do not take upon myself to think, "that my advice ought to have been followed; I "followed yours; nor that for the sake of the Re- "public, of which I despaired, and which is now "overturned, so as not to be raised up again with- "out a civil and most pernicious war: I sought "you: desired to be with you; nor will I omit the

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

" first opportunity which offers of effecting it. I " easily perceived, through all this affair, that I did " not satisfy those who are fond of fighting: for I " made no scruple to own, that I wished for nothing " so much as peace; not but that I had the same " apprehensions from it as they; but I thought them " more tolerable than a civil war: then, after the war " was begun, when I saw that conditions of peace " were offered to you, and a full and honourable an- " swer given to them, I began to weigh and delibe- " rate well upon my own conduct, which, consider- " ing your kindness to me, I fancied that I should " easily explain to your satisfaction: I recollected " that I was the only man, who, for the greatest ser- " vices to the public, had suffered a most wretched " and cruel punishment: that I was the only one, " who, if I offended him, to whom, at the very time " when we were in arms against him, a second con- " sulship and most splendid triumph was offered, " should be involved again in all the same struggles; " so that my person seemed to stand always ex- " posed, as a public mark, to the insults of profli- " gate citizens: nor did I suspect any of these things " till I was openly threatened with them: nor was " I so much afraid of them, if they were really to " befal me, as I judged it prudent to decline them, " if they could honestly be avoided. You see, in " short, the state of my conduct while we had any " hopes of peace; what has since happened deprived " me of all power to do any thing: but to those " whom I do not please, I can easily answer, that I " never was more a friend to C. Cæsar than they, " nor they ever better friends to the Republic than " myself: the only difference between me and them, " is, that as they are excellent citizens, and I not far " removed from that character; it was my advice to " proceed by way of treaty, which I understood to " be approved also by you; theirs by way of arms; " and since this method has prevailed, it shall be my

A. Urb. 704, Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

" care to behave myself so, that the Republic may " not want in me the spirit of a true citizen, nor you " of a friend. Adieu."*

The disgust which Pompey's management had given him, and which he gently intimates in this letter, was the true reason why he did not join him at this time: he had a mind to deliberate a while longer, before he took a step so decisive: this he owns to Atticus, where, after recounting all the particulars of his own conduct, which were the most liable to exception, he adds, " I have neither done " nor omitted to do any thing, which has not both " a probable and prudent excuse—and, in truth, was " willing to consider a little longer what was right " and fit for me to do."† The chief ground of his deliberation was, that he still thought a peace possible, in which case Pompey and Cæsar would be one again, and he had no mind to give Cæsar any cause to be an enemy to him, when he was become a friend to Pompey.

While things were in this situation, Cæsar sent young Balbus after the consul Lentulus, to endeavour to persuade him to stay in Italy, and return to the city, by the offer of every thing that could tempt him: he called upon Cicero on his way, who gives the following account of it to Atticus: " Young Balbus came to me on the twenty-fourth " in the evening, running in all haste, by private " roads, after Lentulus, with letters and instructions " from Cæsar, and the offer of any government, if " he will return to Rome; but it will have no effect, " unless they happen to meet: he told me that Cæ- " sar desired nothing so much as to overtake Pom- " pey—which I believe; and to be friends with him " again—which I do not believe; and begin to fear, " that all his clemency means nothing else, at last,

* Ad Att. 8. 11.

† Nihil prætermissum est, quod non habeat sapientem excusationem——et plane quid rectum, et quid faciendum mihi esset, diutius cogitare malui. Ib. 8. 12.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

"but to give that one cruel blow. The elder Balbus "writes me word, that Cæsar wishes nothing more "than to live in safety, and yield the first rank "to Pompey. You take him, I suppose, to be in "earnest."*

Cicero seems to think, that Lentulus might have been persuaded to stay, if Balbus and he had met together; for he had no opinion of the firmness of these consuls, but says of them both, on another occasion, that they were more easily moved by every wind, than a feather or a leaf. He received another letter, soon after, from Balbus, of which he sent a copy to Atticus, that he might pity him, he says, to see what a dupe they thought to make of him.†

"BALBUS TO CICERO, EMPEROR.

"I CONJURE you, Cicero, to think of some me- "thod of making Cæsar and Pompey friends again, "who, by the perfidy of certain persons, are now "divided; it is a work highly worthy of your vir- "tue: take my word for it, Cæsar will not only be "in your power, but think himself infinitely obliged "to you, if you would charge yourself with this "affair. I should be glad if Pompey would do so "too; but, in the present circumstances, it is what "I wish rather than hope, that he may be brought "to any terms: but, whenever he gives over flying "ing and fearing Cæsar, I shall not despair, that "your authority may have its weight with him. "Cæsar takes it kindly, that you were for Lentu- "lus's staying in Italy, and it was the greatest ob- "ligation which you could confer upon me: for I "love him as much as I do Cæsar himself; if he "had suffered me to talk to him as freely as we "used to do, and not so often shunned the oppor-

* Ad Att. 8. 9.

† Nec me Consules movent, qui ipsi pluma aut folio facilius moveantur——ut viccm meam doleres, eum me derideri videres. Ib. 8. 15.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

"tunities which I sought of conferring with him, I "should have been less unhappy than I now am: "for, assure yourself, that no man can be more "afflicted than I, to see one, who is dearer to me "than myself, acting his part so ill in his consul- "ship, that he seems to be any thing rather than a "consul: but should he be disposed to follow your "advice, and take your word for Cæsar's good in- "tentions, and pass the rest of his consulship at "Rome, I should begin to hope, that, by your au- "thority, and at his motion, Pompey and Cæsar "may be made one again, with the approbation "even of the senate. Whenever this can be brought "about. I shall think that I have lived long enough: "you will entirely approve, I am sure, what Cæsar "did at Corfinium: in an affair of that sort, nothing "could fall out better, than that it should be trans- "acted without blood. I am extremely glad, that "my nephew's visit was agreeable to you: as to "what he said on Cæsar's part, and what Cæsar "himself wrote to you, I know Cæsar to be very "sincere, in it; whatever turn his affairs may "take."*

Cæsar, at the same time, was extremely solicitous, not so much to gain Cicero, for that was not to be expected, as to prevail with him to stand neuter. He wrote to him several times to that effect, and employed all their common friends to press him with letters on that head:† who, by his keeping such a distance, at this time, from Pompey, imagining that they had made some impression, began to attempt a second point with him, viz. to persuade him to come back to Rome, and assist in the councils of the senate, which Cæsar designed to summon at his return from following Pom-

* Ad Att. 8. 15.

† Quod quæris quid Cæsar ad me scripserit. Quod sæpe: gratissimum sibi esse quod quierim: oratque ut in eo perseverem. Balbus minor hæc eadem mandata. Ib. 8. 11.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

pey: with this view, in the hurry of his march towards Brundisium, Cæsar sent him the following letter:

"CÆSAR, EMPEROR, TO CICERO, EMPEROR.

"WHEN I had but just time to see our friend "Furnius, nor could conveniently speak with, or "hear him, was in haste, and on my march, having "sent the legions before me, yet I could not pass "by without writing, and sending him to you with "my thanks: though I have often paid this duty "before, and seem likely to pay it oftener, you de- "serve it so well of me. I desire of you, in a spe- "cial manner, that as I hope to be in the city "shortly, I may see you there, and have the bene- "fit of your advice, your interest, your authority, "your assistance in all things. But to return to the "point: you will pardon the haste and brevity of "my letter, and learn the rest from Furnius." To which Cicero answered.

"CICERO, EMPEROR, TO CÆSAR, EMPEROR.

"UPON reading your letter, delivered to me by "Furnius, in which you pressed me to come to the "city, I did not so much wonder at what you there "intimated, of your desire to use my advice and "authority, but was at a loss to find out what you "meant by my interest and assistance; yet I flat- "tered myself into a persuasion, that, out of your "admirable and singular wisdom, you were desir- "ous to enter into some measures for establishing "the peace and concord of the city; and, in that "case, I looked upon my temper and character "as fit enough to be employed in such a delibera- "tion. If the case be so, and you have any con- "cern for the safety of our friend Pompey, and of "reconciling him to yourself, and to the Republic, "you will certainly find no man more proper for "such a work than I am, who, from the very first,

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Cos.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

" have always been the adviser of peace, both to " him and the senate; and, since this recourse to " arms, have not meddled with any part of the war, " but thought you to be really injured by it, while " your enemies and enviers were attempting to de- " prive you of those honours, which the Roman " people had granted you. But as, at that time, " I was not only a favourer of your dignity, but an " encourager also of others to assist you in it: so " now the dignity of Pompey greatly affects me: " for, many years ago, I made choice of you two, " with whom to cultivate a particular friendship, " and to be, as I now am, most strictly united. " Wherefore I desire of you, or rather beg and im- " plore, with all my prayers, that, in the hurry of " your cares, you would indulge a moment to this " thought, how by your generosity, I may be per- " mitted to shew myself an honest, grateful, pious " man, in remembering an act of the greatest kind- " ness to me. If this related only to myself, I " should hope still to obtain it from you: but it " concerns, I think, both your honour and the Re- " public, that, by your means, I should be allowed " to continue in a situation the best adapted to pro- " mote the peace of you two, as well as the gene- " ral concord of all the citizens. After I had sent " my thanks to you before, on the account of Len- " tulus, for giving safety to him who had given it " to me; yet, upon reading his letter, in which he " expresses the most grateful sense of your libe- " rality, I took myself to have received the same " grace from you, which he had done: towards " whom, if by this you perceive me to be grateful, " let it be your care, I beseech you, that I may be " so too towards Pompey."*

Cicero was censured for some passages of this letter, which Cæsar took care to make public, viz.

* Ad Att. 9. 6. 11.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

the compliment on Cæsar's admirable wisdom; and, above all, the acknowledgment of his being injured by his adversaries in the present war: in excuse of which, he says, that he was not sorry for the publication of it, for he himself had given several copies of it; and, considering what had since happened, was pleased to have known to the world how much he had always been inclined to peace; and that, in urging Cæsar to save his country, he thought it his business to use such expressions as were the most likely to gain authority with him, without fearing to be thought guilty of flattery, in urging him to an act for which he would gladly have thrown himself even at his feet.*

He received another letter, on the same subject, and about the same time, written jointly by Balbus and Oppius, two of Cæsar's chief confidents.

"BALBUS AND OPPIUS TO M. CICERO.

"THE advice, not only of little men, such as we "are, but even of the greatest, is generally weighed, "not by the intention of the giver, but the event; "yet, relying on your humanity, we will give you "what we take to be the best, in the case about "which you wrote to us; which, though it should "not be found prudent, yet certainly flows from "the utmost fidelity and affection to you. If we "did not know from Cæsar himself, that, as soon "as he comes to Rome, he will do what in our "judgment we think he ought to do, treat about "a reconciliation between him and Pompey, we "should give over exhorting you to come and take "part in those deliberations; that, by your help,

* Epistolam meam quod pervulgatam scribis esse non fero moleste. Quin etiam ipse multis dedi describendam. Ea enim et acciderunt jam et impendent, ut tesatum esse velim de pace quid senserim. Cum autem eum hortarer, eum præsertim hominem, non videbar ullo modo facilius moturus, quam si id, quod eum hortarer, convenire ejus sapientiæ dicerem. Eam si admirabilem dixi, cum eum ad salutem patriæ hortarer, non sum veritus, ne viderer assentiri, cui tali in re lubenter me ad pedes abjecissem, &c. lb. 8. 9.

" who have a strict friendship with them both, the " whole affair may be settled with ease and dignity: " or if, on the contrary, we believed that Cæsar " would not do it, and knew that he was resolved " upon a war with Pompey, we should never try " to persuade you to take arms against a man to " whom you have the greatest obligations, in the " same manner as we have always entreated you " not to fight against Cæsar. But since, at present, " we can only guess rather than know what Cæsar " will do, we have nothing to offer but this, that " it does not seem agreeable to your dignity, or " your fidelity, so well known to all, when you are " intimate with them both, to take arms against " either: and this we do not doubt but Cæsar, ac- " cording to his humanity, will highly approve; " yet if you judge proper, we will write to him, to " let us know what he will really do about it; and " if he returns us an answer, will presently send " you notice, what we think of it, and give you " our word, that we will advise only what we take " to be most suitable to your honour, not to Cæsar's " views; and are persuaded, that Cæsar, out of his " indulgence to his friends, will be pleased with it."* This joint letter was followed by a separate one from Balbus.

" BALBUS TO CICERO, EMPEROR.

" IMMEDIATELY after I had sent the common let- " ter from Oppius and myself, I received one from " Cæsar, of which I have sent you a copy; whence " you will perceive how desirous he is of peace, and " to be reconciled with Pompey, and how far re- " moved from all thoughts of cruelty. It gives me " an extreme joy, as it certainly ought to do, to see " him in these sentiments. As to yourself, your " fidelity, and your piety, I am entirely of the same

* Ad Att. 9. 8.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

"mind, my dear Cicero, with you, that you cannot, "consistently with your character and duty, bear "arms against a man to whom you declare your- "self so greatly obliged: that Cæsar will approve "this resolution, I certainly know, from his singular "humanity; and that you will perfectly satisfy him, "by taking no part in the war against him, nor "joining yourself to his adversaries: this he will "think sufficient, not only from you, a person of "such dignity and splendour, but has allowed it even "to me, not to be found in that camp, which is likely "to be formed against Lentulus and Pompey, from "whom I have received the greatest obligations: "'It was enough,' he said, 'if I performed my "part to him in the city and the gown, which I "might perform also to them if I thought fit:' where- "fore, I now manage all Lentulus's affairs at Rome, "and discharge my duty, my fidelity, my piety, to "them both: yet, in truth, I do not take the hopes "of an accommodation, though now so low, to be "quite desperate, since Cæsar is in that mind in "which we ought to wish him: one thing would "please me, if you think it proper, that you would "write to him, and desire a guard from him, as "you did from Pompey, at the time of Milo's trial, "with my approbation: I will undertake for him, "if I rightly know Cæsar, that he will sooner pay "a regard to your dignity, than to his own interest. "How prudently I write these things, I know not; "but this I certainly know; that whatever I write, "I write out of a singular love and affection to you: "for let me die, (so as Cæsar may but live) if I have "not so great an esteem for you, that few are equally "dear to me. When you have taken any resolution "in this affair, I wish that you would let me know "it, for I am exceedingly solicitous that you should "discharge your duty to them both, which, in truth, "I am confident you will discharge. Take care of "your health."*

* Ad Att. 9. 8.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

The offer of a guard was artfully insinuated; for while it carried an appearance of honour and respect to Cicero's person, it must necessarily have made him Cæsar's prisoner, and deprived him of the liberty of retiring, when he found it proper, out of Italy: but he was too wise to be caught by it, or to be moved in any manner by the letters themselves, to entertain the least thought of going to Rome, since, to assist in the senate, when Pompey and the consuls were driven out of it, was, in reality, to take part against them. What gave him a more immediate uneasiness, was the daily expectation of an interview with Cæsar himself, who was now returning from Brundisium by the road of Formiæ, where he then resided; for though he would gladly have avoided him, if he could have contrived to do it decently, yet, to leave the place just when Cæsar was coming to it, could not fail of being interpreted as a particular affront: he resolved, therefore, to wait for him, and to act on the occasion with a firmness and gravity, which became his rank and character.

They met, as he expected, and he sent Atticus the following account of what passed between them: "My discourse with him," says he, "was such, as "would rather make him think well of me than "thank me. I stood firm in refusing to go to Rome, "but was deceived in expecting to find him easy; "for I never saw any one less so: he was condemned, "he said, by my judgment; and, if I did not come, "others would be the more backward: I told him "that their case was very different from mine. After "many things said, on both sides, he bade me come, "however, and try to make peace: 'Shall I do it,' "says I, 'in my own way?' 'Do you imagine,' replied "he, 'that I will prescribe to you?' 'I will move the "senate then,' says I, 'for a decree against your going "to Spain, or transporting your troops into Greece, "and say a great deal besides, in bewailing the case "of Pompey:' 'I will not allow,' replied he, 'such

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

"things to be said:' 'So I thought,' says I, 'and "for that reason will not come; because I must "either say them, and many more, which I cannot "help saying, if I am there, or not come at all.' "The result, was, that, to shift off the discourse, "he wished me to consider of it; which I could "not refuse to do, and so we parted. I am per- "suaded, that he is not pleased with me; but I am "pleased with myself: which I have not been be- "fore of a long time. As for the rest, good gods, "what a crew he has with him! what a hellish band! "as you call them: what a deplorable affair! what "desperate troops! what a lamentable thing, to "see Servius's son, and Titinius's, with many more "of their rank, in that camp, which besieged Pom- "pey! He has six legions; wakes at all hours; "fears nothing: I see no end of this calamity. His "declaration at the last, which I had almost forgot, "was odious; that if he was not permitted to use my "advice, he would use such as he could get from "others, and pursue all measures which were for "his service."* From this conference, Cicero went directly to Arpinum, and there invested his son, at the age of sixteen, with the manly gown: he resolved to carry him along with him to Pompey's camp, and thought it proper to give him an air of manhood before he enlisted him into the war; and since he could not perform that ceremony at Rome, chose to oblige his countrymen, by celebrating this festival in his native city.†

While Cæsar was on the road towards Rome, young Quintus Cicero, the nephew, a fiery, giddy youth, privately wrote to him to offer his service, with a promise of some information concerning his uncle; upon which being sent for, and admitted to an audience, he assured Cæsar, that his uncle was

* Ad Att. 9. 18.

† Ego meo Ciceroni, quoniam Roma caremus, Arpini potissimum togam puram dedi, idque municipibus nostris fuit gratum. Ib. 19.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

utterly disaffected to all his measures, and determined to leave Italy and go to Pompey. The boy was tempted to this rashness by the hopes of a considerable present, and gave much uneasiness by it, both to the father and the uncle, who had reason to fear some ill consequence from it:* but Cæsar, desiring still to divert Cicero from declaring against him, and to quiet the apprehensions which he might entertain for what was past, took occasion to signify to him, in a kind letter from Rome, that he retained no resentment of his refusal to come to the city, though Tullus and Servius complained, that he had not shewn the same indulgence to them:—Ridiculous men, says Cicero, who, after sending their sons to besiege Pompey, at Brundisium, pretend to be scrupulous about going to the senate.†

Cicero's behaviour, however, and residence in those villas of his, which were nearest to the sea, gave rise to a general report, that he was waiting only for a wind to carry him over to Pompey; upon which, Cæsar sent him another pressing letter, to try, if possible, to dissuade him from that step.

"CÆSAR, EMPEROR, TO CICERO, EMPEROR.

"THOUGH I never imagined that you would do "any thing rashly, or imprudently, yet, moved by "common report, I thought proper to write to you, "and beg of you, by our mutual affection, that you "would not run to a declining cause, whither you "did not think fit to go while it stood firm. For "you will do the greatest injury to your friendship,

* Litteras ejus ad Cæsarem missas ita graviter tulimus, ut te quidem celaremus—tantum scito post Hirtium conventum, arcessitum ab Cæsare; cum eo de meo animo ab suis consiliis alienissimo, et consilio relinquendi Italiam. Ib. 10. 4, 5, &c.

Quintum puerum accepi vehementer. Avaritiam video fuisse, et spem magni congiarii. Magnum hoc malum est. Ib. 10. 7.

† Cæsar mihi ignoscit per litteras. quod non Romam venerim, se seque in optimam partem id accipere dicit. Facile patior, quod scribit, secum Tullum et Servium questos esse, qui cum filios misissent ad Cn. Pompeium circumsidendum, ipsi in Senatum venire dubitarent. Ib. 10. 8.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

"and consult but ill for yourself, if you do not "follow where fortune calls; for all things seem "to have succeeded most prosperously for us, most "unfortunately for them: nor will you be thought "to have followed the cause, (since that was the "same, when you chose to withdraw yourself from "their counsels) but to have condemned some act "of mine; than which you can do nothing that could "affect me more sensibly, and what I beg, by the "rights of our friendship, that you would not do. "Lastly, what is more agreeable to the character "of an honest, quiet man, and good citizen, than "to retire from civil broils? from which some, who "would gladly have done it, have been deterred by "an apprehension of danger: but you, after a full "testimony of my life, and trial of my friendship, "will find nothing more safe or more reputable, than "to keep yourself clear from all this contention.— "The 16th of April, on the road."*

Antony, also, whom Cæsar left to guard Italy, in his absence, wrote to him to the same purpose, and on the same day.

"ANTONIUS, TRIBUNE OF THE PEOPLE, AND PROPRÆTOR, TO CICERO, EMPEROR.

"IF I had not a great esteem for you, and much "greater indeed than you imagine, I should not be "concerned at the report, which is spread of you, "especially when I take it to be false. But, out "of the excess of my affection, I cannot dissemble, "that even a report, though false, makes some im-"pression on me. I cannot believe that you are "preparing to cross the sea, when you have such "a value for Dolabella, and your daughter Tullia, "that excellent woman, and are so much valued "by us all, to whom, in truth, your dignity and "honour are almost dearer than yourself; yet, I

* Ad Att. x. 8.

"did not think it the part of a friend, not to be "moved by the discourse even of ill-designing "men, and wrote this with the greater inclination, "as I take my part to be the more difficult on the "account of our late coldness, occasioned rather "by my jealousy, than any injury from you. For "I desire you to assure yourself, that nobody is "dearer to me than you, excepting my Cæsar, and "that I know, also, that Cæsar reckons M. Cicero "in the first class of his friends. Wherefore I beg "of you, my Cicero, that you will keep yourself free "and undetermined, and despise the fidelity of that "man who first did you an injury, that he might "afterwards do you a kindness; nor fly from him, "who, though he should not love you, which is "impossible, yet will always desire to see you in "safety and splendour. I have sent Calpurnius to "you with this, the most intimate of my friends, "that you might perceive the great concern which "I have for your life and dignity."*

Cœlius also wrote to him, on the same subject; but finding, by some hints in Cicero's answer, that he was actually preparing to run away to Pompey, he sent him a second letter, in a most pathetic, or, as Cicero calls it, lamentable strain,† in hopes to work upon him, by alarming all his fears.

"CŒLIUS TO CICERO.

"BEING in a consternation at your letter, by "which you shew that you are meditating nothing "but what is dismal, yet neither tell me directly "what it is, nor wholly hide it from me, I presently "wrote this to you. By all your fortunes, Cicero, "by your children, I beg and beseech you, not to "take any step injurious to your safety: for I call "the gods and men, and our friendship, to witness, "that what I have told, and forewarned you of,

* Ib. † M. Cœli epistolam scriptam miserabiliter. Ib. x. 9.

" was not any vain conceit of my own, but after I " had talked with Cæsar, and understood from him, " how he resolved to act after his victory, I in- " formed you of what I had learnt. If you imagine " that his conduct will always be the same, in dis- " missing his enemies, and offering conditions, you " are mistaken; he thinks, and even talks, of no- " thing but what is fierce and severe, and is gone " away much out of humour with the senate, and " thoroughly provoked by the opposition which he " has met with, nor will there be any room for " mercy. Wherefore, if you yourself, your only son, " your house, your remaining hopes, be dear to " you: if I, if the worthy man, your son-in-law, " have any weight with you, you should not desire " to overturn our fortunes, and force us to hate or " to relinquish that cause in which our safety con- " sists, or to entertain an impious wish against " your's. Lastly, reflect on this, that you have al- " ready given all the offence which you can give, by " staying so long behind; and now to declare against " a conqueror, whom you would not offend, while " his cause was doubtful, and to fly after those who " run away, with whom you would not join, while " they were in condition to resist, is the utmost " folly. Take care, that while you are ashamed not " to approve yourself one of the best citizens, you " be not too hasty in determining what is the best. " But if I cannot wholly prevail with you, yet wait, " at least, till you know how we succeed in Spain, " which I now tell you, will be our's, as soon as " Cæsar comes thither. What hopes they may have " when Spain is lost, I know not; and what your " view can be in acceding to a desperate cause, by " my faith I cannot find out. As to the thing, " which you discover to me by your silence about " it, Cæsar has been informed of it; and, after the " first salutation, told me, presently, what he had " heard of you: I denied that I knew any thing of

"the matter, but begged of him to write to you in "a manner the most effectual to make you stay. "He carries me with him into Spain: if he did "not, I would run away to you wherever you are, "before I came to Rome, to dispute this point with "you in person, and hold you fast even by force. "Consider, Cicero, again and again, that you do "not utterly ruin both you and your's: that you "do not, knowingly and willingly, throw yourself "into difficulties, whence you see no way to ex- "tricate yourself. But if either the reproaches of "the better sort touch you, or you cannot bear "the insolence and haughtiness of a certain set of "men, I would advise you to choose some place re- "mote from the war, till these contests be over, "which will soon be decided: if you do this, I shall "think that you have done wisely, and you will "not offend Cæsar."*

Cœlius's advice, as well as his practice, was grounded upon a maxim, which he had before advanced, in a letter to Cicero, "that in a public dis- "sension, as long as it was carried on by civil me- "thods, one ought to take the honester side; but "when it came to arms, the stronger; and to judge "that the best which was the safest."† Cicero was not of his opinion, but governed himself in this, as he generally did, in all other cases, by a contrary rule; that where our duty and our safety interfere, we should adhere always to what is right, whatever danger we incur by it.

Curio paid Cicero a friendly visit of two days, about this time, on his way towards Sicily, the command of which Cæsar had committed to him. Their conversation turned on the unhappy condition of the times, and the impending miseries of the

* Ep. Fam. 8. 16.

† Illud te non arbitror fugere; quin homines in dissensione dō mes tica debeant, quamdiu civiliter sine armis cernetur, honestiorem sequi partem: ubi ad bellum et castra ventum sit, firmiorem; et id melius statuere, quod tutius sit. Ep Fam. 8. 14.

war, in which Curio was open, and without any reserve, in talking of Cæsar's views: he exhorted Cicero to chuse some neutral place for his retreat; assured him, that Cæsar would be pleased with it; offered him all kind of accommodation and safe passage through Sicily: made not the least doubt, but that Cæsar would soon be master of Spain, and then follow Pompey with his whole force; and that Pompey's death would be the end of the war: but confessed withal, that he saw no prospect or glimmering of hope for the Republic; said, that Cæsar was so provoked by the tribune Metellus, at Rome, that he had a mind to have killed him, as many of his friends advised; that if he had done it, a great slaughter would have ensued; that his clemency flowed, not from his natural disposition, but because he thought it popular: and if he once lost the affections of the people, he would be cruel: that he was disturbed to see the people so disgusted by his seizing the public treasure; and though he had resolved to speak to them before he left Rome, yet he durst not venture upon it, for fear of some affront; and went away, at last, much discomposed."*

The leaving the public treasure at Rome a prey to Cæsar, is censured, more than once, by Cicero, as one of the blunders of his friends:† but it is a common case, in civil dissensions, for the honester side, through the fear of discrediting their cause, by any irregular act, to ruin it by an unseasonable moderation. The public money was kept in the temple of Saturn; and the consuls contented themselves with carrying away the keys, fancying, that the sanctity of the place would secure it from violence; especially when the greatest part of it was a fund of a sacred kind, set apart by the laws for occasions only of the last exigency, or the terror of a

* Ad Att. x. 4. † Ib. 7. 12. 15.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

Gallic invasion.* Pompey was sensible of the mistake, when it was too late, and sent instructions to the consuls to go back and fetch away this sacred treasure: but Cæsar was then so far advanced, that they durst not venture upon it; and Lentulus coldly sent him word, that he himself should first march against Cæsar into Picenum, that they might be able to do it with safety.† Cæsar had none of these scruples; but, as soon as he came to Rome, ordered the doors of the temple to be broken open, and the money to be seized for his own use; and had like to have killed the tribune Metellus, who, trusting to the authority of his office, was silly enough to attempt to hinder him. He found there an immense treasure, both in coin and wedges of solid gold, reserved from the spoils of conquered nations, from the time even of the Punic war: "for the Republic," as Pliny says, "had never been richer than it was "at this day."‡

Cicero was now impatient to be gone, and the more so, on account of the inconvenient pomp of his laurel, and lictors, and style of emperor; which in a time of that jealousy and distraction, exposed him too much to the eyes of the public, as well as to the taunts and raillery of his enemies.§ He resolved to cross the sea to Pompey; yet knowing all his motions to be narrowly watched, took pains to conceal his intention, especially from Antony, who resided, at this time, in his neighbourhood, and kept a strict eye upon him. He sent him word, therefore, by letter, that he had no design against Cæsar; that he remembered his friendship, and his son-in-law Dolabella; that if he had other thoughts,

* Dio. p. 161.

† C. Cassius—attulit mandata ad Consules, ut Romam venirent, pecuniam de sanctiore ærario auferrent.—Consul rescripsit, ut prius ipse in Picenum. Ad. Att. 7. 21.

‡ Nec fuit aliis temporibus Respub. locupletior. Plin. Hist. 33. 8.

§ Accedit etiam molesta hæc pompa lictorum meorum, nomenque imperii quo appellor. Sed incurrit hæc nostra laurus non solum in oculos, sed jam etiam in voculas malevolorum. Ep. Fam. 2. 16.

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he could easily have been with Pompey; that his chief reason for retiring, was to avoid the uneasiness of appearing in public with the formality of his lictors.* But Antony wrote him a surly answer; which Cicero calls a laconic mandate, and sent a copy of it to Atticus, to let him see, he says, how tyrannically it was drawn.

"How sincere is your way of acting? for he, who "has a mind to stand neuter, stays at home; he, "who goes abroad, seems to pass a judgment on "the one side or the other. But it does not belong "to me to determine, whether a man may go "abroad or not. Cæsar has imposed this task "upon me, not to suffer any man to go out of "Italy. Wherefore, it signifies nothing for me to "approve your resolution, if I have no power to "indulge you in it. I would have you write to "Cæsar, and ask that favour of him: I do not "doubt but you will obtain it, especially since you "promise to retain a regard for our friendship."†

After this letter, Antony never came to see him, but sent an excuse, that he was ashamed to do it, because he took him to be angry with him, giving him to understand, at the same time, by Trebatius, that he had special orders to observe his motions.‡

These letters give us the most sensible proof of the high esteem and credit in which Cicero flourished, at this time, in Rome: when, in a contest for empire, which force alone was to decide, we see the chiefs on both sides so solicitous to gain a man to their party, who had no peculiar skill in arms or talents for war: but his name and authority was the

* Cum ego sæpissime scripsissem, nihil me contra Cæsaris rationes cogitasse, meminisse me generi mei, meminisse amicitiæ, potuisse si aliter sentirem, esse cum Pompeio, me autem, quia cum lictoribus invitus cuparem, abesse velle. Ad Att. x. 10.

† Ad Att. x. 10.

‡ Nominatim de me sibi imperatum dicit Antonius, nec me tamen ipse adhuc viderat, sed hoc Trebatio narravit. Ib. x. 12.

Antonius—ad me misit, se pudore deterritum ad me non venisse, quod me mihi succensere putaret. Ib. x. 15.

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acquisition which they sought; since, whatever was the fate of their arms, the world, they knew, would judge better of the cause which Cicero espoused. The same letters will confute, likewise, in a great measure, the common opinion of his want of resolution in all cases of difficulty, since no man could shew a greater than he did on the present occasion, when, against the importunities of his friends, and all the invitations of a successful power, he chose to follow that cause which he thought the best, though he knew it to be the weakest.

During Cæsar's absence in Spain, Antony, who had nobody to control him at home, gave a free course to his natural disposition, and indulged himself, without reserve, in all the excess of lewdness and luxury. Cicero, describing his usual equipage in travelling about Italy, says, "he carries with "him, in an open chaise, the famed actress, Cytheris; "his wife follows in a second, with seven other close "litters, full of his whores and boys. See by what "base hands we fall; and doubt, if you can, whe-"ther Cæsar, let him come vanquished or victo-"rious, will not make cruel work amongst us at "his return. For my part, if I cannot get a ship, "I will take a boat, to transport myself out of their "reach; but I shall tell you more after I have "had a conference with Antony.* Among Antony's other extravagances, he had the insolence to appear sometimes in public, with his mistress, Cytheris, in a chariot drawn by lions. Cicero, alluding to this, in a letter to Atticus, tells him jocosely, that he need not be afraid of Antony's lions;† for though

* Hic tamen Cytheridem secum lectica aperta portat, altera uxorem: septem præterea conjunctæ lecticæ sunt amicarum, an amicorum? vide quam turpideto pereamus: et dubita, si potes, quin ille seu victus, seu victor redierit, cædem facturus sit. Ego vero vel lintriculo, si navis non erit, eripiam me ex istorum parricidio. Sed plura scribam cum illum convenero. Ib. x. 10.

† Tu Antonii leones pertimescas, cave. Nihil est illo homine jucundius. Ib. x. 13.

the beasts were so fierce, the master himself was very tame.

Pliny speaks of this fact, as a designed insult on the Roman people; as if, by the emblem of the lions, Antony intended to give them to understand, that the fiercest spirits of them would be forced to submit to the yoke.* Plutarch also mentions it; but both of them place it after the battle of Pharsalia, though it is evident, from this hint of it given by Cicero, that it happened long before.

Whilst Cicero continued at Formiæ, deliberating on the measures of his conduct, he formed several political theses, adapted to the circumstances of the times, for the amusement of his solitary hours: Whether a man ought to stay in his country, when it was possessed by a tyrant? whether one ought not by all means, to attempt the dissolution of the tyranny, though his city, on that account, was exposed to the utmost hazard? whether there was not cause to be afraid of the man who should dissolve it, lest he should advance himself into the other's place? whether we should not help our country by the methods of peace, rather than war? whether it be the part of a citizen to sit still in a neutral place, while his country is oppressed, or to run all hazards for the sake of the common liberty? whether one ought to bring a war upon his city, and besiege it, when in the hands of a tyrant? whether a man, not approving the dissolution of a tyranny by war, ought not to join himself, however, to the best citizens? whether one ought to act with his benefactors and friends, though they do not, in his opinion, take right measures for the public interest? whether a man, who has done great services to his country, and, for that reason, has

* Jugo subdidit eos, primusque Romæ ad currum junxit Antonius; et quidem civili bello cum dimicatum esset in Pharsalicis campis; non sine ostento quodam temporum, generosos spiritus jugum subire illo prodigio significante: nam quod ita vectus est cum mima Cytheride, supra monstra etiam illarum calamitatum fuit. Plin. Hist. 8. 16.

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been envied and cruelly treated, is still bound to expose himself to fresh dangers for it, or may not be permitted, at last, to take care of himself and his family, and give up all political matters to the men of power?—"By exercising myself," says he, "in these questions, and examining them on the "one side and the other, I relieve my mind from "its present anxiety, and draw out something which "may be of use to me."*

From the time of his leaving the city, together with Pompey and the senate, there passed not a single day in which he did not write one or more letters to Atticus,† the only friend whom he trusted with the secret of his thoughts. From these letters it appears that the sum of Atticus's advice to him agreed entirely with his own sentiments, that, if Pompey remained in Italy, he ought to join with him; if not, should stay behind, and expect what fresh accidents might produce.‡ This was what Cicero had hitherto followed: and as to his future conduct, though he seems sometimes to be a little wavering and irresolute, yet the result of his deliberations constantly turned in favour of Pompey. His personal affection for the man, preference of his cause, the reproaches of the better sort, who began to censure his tardiness, and, above all, his gratitude for favours received, which had ever the greatest weight with him, made him resolve, at all adventures to run after him; and, though he was displeased with his management of the war, and without any hopes of his success;§ though he knew him before

* In his ego me consultationibus exercens, disserens in utramque partem, tum Græce tum Latine, abduco parumper animum a molestiis et τοῦ πρόσχρου τὶ delibero. Ad. Att. 9. 4.

† Hujus autem epistolæ non solum ea causa est, ut ne quis a me dies intermittetur, quin dem at te litteras, sed. Ib. 8. 12.

Alteram tibi eodem die hanc epistolam dictavi, et pridie dederam mea manu longiorem. Ib. x. 3.

‡ Ego quidem tibi non sim auctor, si Pompeius Italiam relinquit, te quoque profugere, summo enim periculo facies, nec Reipub. proderis; cui quidem posterius poteris prodesse, si manseris, &c. Ib. 9. 10.

§ Ingrati animi crimen horreo. Ib. 9. 2. & 7.

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to be no politician, and now perceived him, he says, to be no general; yet, with all his faults, he could not endure the thought of deserting him, nor hardly forgive himself for staying so long behind him: "For, as in love," says he, "any thing dirty and in-"decent in a mistress will stifle it for the present, "so the deformity of Pompey's conduct put me out "of humour with him; but now that he is gone, my "love revives, and I cannot bear his absence," &c.*

What held him still a while longer, was the tears of his family, and the remonstrances of his daughter Tullia, who intreated him to wait only the issue of the Spanish war, and urged it as the advice of Atticus.† He was passionately fond of this daughter, and with great reason; for she was a woman of singular accomplishments, with the utmost affection and piety to him. Speaking of her to Atticus, "How admirable," says he, "is her virtue? how "does she bear the public calamity? how her do-"mestic disgusts? what a greatness of mind did "she shew at my parting from them? in spite of "the tenderness of her love, she wishes me to do "nothing but what is right, and for my honour."‡ But, as to the affair of Spain, he answered, that whatever was the fate of it, it could not alter the case with regard to himself; for if Cæsar should be driven out of it, his journey to Pompey would be less welcome and reputable, since Curio himself

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Nec mehercule hoc facio Reipub. causa, quam funditus deletam puto, sed nequis me putet ingratum in eum, qui me levavit iis incommodis, quibus ipse affecerat. Ib. 9. 19—

Fortunæ sunt committenda omnia. Sine spe conamur ullâ. Si melius quid acciderit mirabimur. Ib. x. 2.

* Sicut ἐν τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς, alienant immundæ, insulsæ, indecoræ; sic me illius fugæ, negligentiæque deformitas avertit ab amore—nunc emergit amor, nunc desiderium ferre non possum. Ib. 9. 10.

† Sed cum ad me mea Tullia scribat, orans ut quid in Hispania geratur expectem, et semper adscribat idem videri tibi. Ib. x. 8.

Lacrymæ meorum me interdum molliunt, precantium, ut de Hispaniis expectemus. Ib. x. 9.

‡ Cujus quidem virtus mirifica. Quomodo illa fert publicam cladem? quomodo domesticas tricas? quantus autem animus in discessu nostro? sit στοργὴ, sit summa σύντηξις; tamen nos recte favere et bene audire vult. Ib. x. 8.

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would run over to him; or if the war was drawn into length, there would be no end of waiting; or, lastly, if Pompey's army should be beaten, instead of sitting still, as they advised, he thought just the contrary, and should chuse the rather to run away from the violence of such a victory. He resolved, therefore, he says, to act nothing craftily; but, whatever became of Spain, to find out Pompey as soon as he could, in conformity to Solon's law, who made it capital for a citizen not to take part in a civil dissension.*

Before his going off, Servius Sulpicius sent him word, from Rome, that he had a great desire to have a conference with him, to consult in common what measures they ought to take. Cicero consented to it, in hopes to find Servius in the same mind with himself, and to have his company to Pompey's camp: for, in answer to his message, he intimated his own intention of leaving Italy; and, if Servius was not in the same resolution, advised him to save himself the trouble of the journey, though, if he had any thing of moment to communicate, he would wait for his coming.† But, at their meeting, he found him so timorous and desponding, and so full of scruples upon every thing which was proposed, that, instead of pressing him to the same conduct with himself, he found it necessary to conceal his own design from him. "Of "all the men," says he, "whom I have met with, he

* Si pelletur, quam gratus aut quam honestus tum erit ad Pompeium noster adventus, cum ipsum Curionem ad ipsum transiturum putem? si trahitur bellum, quid expectem, aut quam diu? relinquitur, ut si vincimur in Hispania, quiescamus. Id ego contra puto: istum enim victorem relinquendum magis puto, quam victum. Ibid.

Astute nihil sum acturus; fiat in Hispania quidlibet. Ib. x. 6.

Ego vero Solonis—legem negligam, qui capite sanxit, si qui in seditione non alterius utrius partis fuisset. Ib. x. 1.

† Sin autem tibi homini prudentissimo videtur utile, esse, nos colloqui, quanquam longius etiam cogitabam ab urbe discedere, cujus jam etiam nomen invitus audio, tamen propius accedam. Ep. fam. 4. 1.

Restat ut discedendum putem; in quo reliqua videtur esse deliberatio, quod consilium in discessu, quæ loca sequamur—si habes jam statutum, quid tibi agendum putes, in quo non sit conjunctum consilium tuum cum meo, supersedeas hoc labore itineris. Ib. 4. 2.

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" is alone a greater coward than C. Marcellus, who " laments his having been consul, and urges An- " tony to hinder my going, that he himself may stay " with a better grace."*

Cato, whom Pompey had sent to possess himself of Sicily, thought fit to quit that post, and yield up the island to Curio, who came likewise to seize it, on Cæsar's part, with a superior force. Cicero was much scandalized at Cato's conduct, being persuaded that he might have held his possession without difficulty, and that all honest men would have flocked to him, especially when Pompey's fleet was so near to support him: for if that had but once appeared on the coast, and begun to act, Curio himself, as he confessed, would have run away the first. " I wish," says Cicero, " that Cotta may hold out " Sardinia, as it is said he will: for, if so, how base " will Cato's act appear."†

In these circumstances, while he was preparing all things for his voyage, and waiting only for a fair wind, he removed from his Cuman to his Pompeian villa, beyond Naples, which, not being so commodious for an embarkment, would help to lessen the suspicion of his intended flight.‡ Here he received a private message from the officers of three cohorts, which were in garrison at Pompeii, to beg leave to wait upon him the day following, in order to deliver up their troops and the town into his hands; but, instead of listening to the overture, he slipped away the next morning, before day, to avoid seeing them; since such a force, or a

* Servii consilio nihil expeditur. Omnes captiones in omni sententia occurrunt. Unum C. Marcello cognovi timidiorem, quem Consulem fuisse pœnitet—qui etiam Antonium confirmasse dicitur, ut me impediret, quo ipse, credo, honestius. Ad Att. x. 15.

† Curio mecum vixit—Siciliæ diffidens, si Pompeius navigare cœpisset. Ib. x. 7. Curio—Pompeii classem timebat: quæ si esset, se de Sicilia abiturum. Ib. x. 4. Cato qui Siciliam tenere nullo negotio potuit, et si tenuisset, omnes boni ad eum se contulissent, Syracusis profectus est a. d. 8. Kal. Maii—utinam, quod aiunt, Cotta Sardiniam teneat. Est enim rumor, O, si id fuerit, turpem Catonem! Ib. x. 16.

‡ Ego ut minuerem suspicionem profectionis,—profectus sum in Pompeianum a. d. 1111 Id. Ut ibi essem, dum quæ ad navigandum opus essent, pararentur. Ib

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greater, could be of no service there; and he was apprehensive that it was designed only as a trap for him.*

Thus, pursuing at last the result of all his deliberations, and preferring the consideration of duty to that of his safety, he embarked to follow Pompey: and though, from the nature of the war, he plainly saw, and declared, that it was a contention only for rule; yet he thought Pompey the modester, honester, and juster king of the two; and if he did not conquer, that the very name of the Roman people would be extinguished; or if he did, that it would still be after the manner and pattern of Sylla, with much cruelty and blood.† With these melancholy reflections, he set sail on the eleventh of June,‡ rushing, as he tells us, knowingly and willingly into voluntary destruction, and doing just what cattle do when driven by any force, running after those of his own kind; "For, "as the ox," says he, "follows the herd, so I follow "the honest, or those at least who are called so, "though it be to certain ruin."§ As to his brother

* Cum ad villam venissem, ventum est ad me, Centuriones trium cohortium, quæ Pompeiis sunt, me velle postridie; hæc mecum Ninnius noster, velle eos mihi se, et oppidum tradere. At ego tibi postridie a villa ante lucem, ut me omnino illi non viderent. Quid enim erat in tribus cohortibus? quid si plures,-quo apparatu?—et simul fieri poterat, ut tentaremur. Omnem igitur suspicionem sustuli. Ibid.

† Dominatio quæsita ab utroque est. Ib. 8. 11.

Regnandi contentio est; in qua pulsus est modestior Rex et probrior et integrior; et is, qui nisi vincit, nomen populi Romani deleatur necesse est: sin autem vincit Syllano more, exemploque vincet. Ib. x. 7.

‡ a. d. III. Id. Jun. Ep. Fam. 14. 7. It is remarkable, that, among the reasons which detained Cicero in Italy longer than he intended, he mentions the tempestuous weather of the Equinox, and the calms that succeede l it; yet this was about the end of May [ad Att. x. 17, 18.] which shews what a strange confusion there was at this time in the Roman Calendar; and what necessity for that reformation of it, which Cæsar soon after effected, in order to reduce the computation of their months to the regular course of the seasons, from which they had so widely varied. Some of the commentators, for want of attending to this cause, are strangely puzzled to account for the difficulty; and one of them ridiculously imagines, that, by the Equinox, Cicero covertly means Antony, who used to make his days and nights equal, by sleeping as much as he waked.

§ Ego prudens ac sciens ad pestem ante oculos positam tum profectus. Ep. Fam. 6. 6.

Prudens et sciens tanquam ad interitum ruerem voluntarium. [pro M. Marcel. 5.] quid ergo acturus es? idem, quod pecudes, quæ dispulsæ sui generis sequuntur greges. Ut bos armenta, sic ego bonos viros, aut eos, quicunque dicentur boni, sequar, etiam si ruent. Ad Att. 7. 7.

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Quintus, he was so far from desiring his company in this flight, that he pressed him to stay in Italy, on account of his personal obligations to Cæsar, and the relation that he had borne to him: yet Quintus would not be left behind; but declared that he would follow his brother whithersoever he should lead, and think that party right which he should chuse for him.*

What gave Cicero a more particular abhorrence of the war, into which he was entering, was, to see Pompey, on all occasions, affecting to imitate Sylla; and to hear him often say, with a superior air, "could "Sylla do such a thing, and cannot I do it?" as if determined to make Sylla's victory the pattern of his own. He was now in much the same circumstances in which that conqueror had once been; sustaining the cause of the senate by his arms, and treated as an enemy by those who possessed Italy; and, as he flattered himself with the same good fortune, so he was meditating the same kind of return, and threatening ruin and proscription to all his enemies. This frequently shocked Cicero, as we find from many of his letters, to consider with what cruelty and effusion of civil blood the success, even of his own friends, would certainly be attended.†

We have no account of the manner and circumstances of his voyage, or by what course he steered towards Dyrrhachium: for, after his leaving Italy, all his correspondence with it was in great measure cut off; so that from June, in which he sailed, we find an intermission of about nine months in the series of his letters, and not more than four of them written to Atticus during the continuance of the war.‡ He arrived, however, safely in Pompey's camp with his

* Fratrem—socium hujus fortunæ esse non erat æquum: cui magis etiam Cæsar irascetur. Sed impetrare non possum, ut maneat. [Ib. 9. 1.] frater, quicquid mihi placeret, id rectum se putare aiebat. Ib. 9. 6.

† Quam crebro illud, Sylla potuit, ego non potero?—
Ita *Syllaturit* animus ejus, et *proscripturit* diu. [Att. 9, 7.] Cnæus noster Syllani regni similitudinem concupivit. ἐιδώς σοι λέγω. [Ib. 7.] ut non nominatim sed generatim proscriptio esseti nformata. Ib. xi. 6.

‡ Vid. Ad Att. xi. 1, 2, 3, 4.

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son, his brother, and nephew, committing the fortunes of the whole family to the issue of that cause: and that he might make some amends for coming so late, and gain the greater authority with his party, he furnished Pompey, who was in great want of money, with a large sum, out of his own stock, for the public service.*

But, as he entered into the war with reluctance, so he found nothing in it but what increased his disgust: he disliked every thing which they had done, or designed to do; saw nothing good amongst them but their cause; and that their own counsels would ruin them: for all the chiefs of the party, trusting to the superior fame and authority of Pompey, and dazzled with the splendour of the troops, which the princes of the east had sent to their assistance, assured themselves of victory; and, without reflecting on the different character of the two armies, would hear of nothing but fighting. It was Cicero's business, therefore, to discourage this wild spirit, and to represent the hazard of the war, the force of Cæsar, and the probability of his beating them, if ever they ventured a battle with him: but all his remonstrances were slighted, and he himself reproached as timorous and cowardly by the other leaders: though nothing afterwards happened to them, but what he had often foretold.† This soon made him repent of embarking in a cause so imprudently conducted; and it added to his discontent, to find himself even blamed by Cato for coming to them at all, and deserting that neutral post, which might have given him the better opportunity of bringing about an accommodation.‡

* Etsi egeo rebus omnibus, quod is quoque in angustiis est, quicum sumus, cui magnam dedimus pecuniam mutuam, opinantes nobis, constitutis rebus, eam rem etiam honori fore. [Ib. xi. 3.] si quas habuimus facultates, eas Pompeio tum, cum id videbamur sapienter facere, detulimus. Ib. 13.

† Quippe mihi nec quæ accidunt, nec quæ aguntur, ullo modo probantur. [ib. xi. 4.] nihil boni præter caus:.m. [Ep. Fam. 7. 3.] itaque ego, quem tum fortes illi viri, Domitii et Lentuli, timidum esse dicebant, &c. [ib. 6. 21.] quo quidem in bello, nihil adversi accidit non prædicente me. Ib. 6.

‡ Cujus me mei facti pœnituit, non tam propter periculum meum, quam propter vitia multa, quæ ibi offendi, quo veneram. Ib. 7. 3.—Plut. in Cic.

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In this disagreeable situation he declined all employment, and finding his counsels wholly slighted, resumed his usual way of raillery, and what he could not dissuade by his authority, endeavoured to make ridiculous by his jests. This gave occasion, afterwards, to Antony, in a speech to the senate, to censure the levity of his behaviour in the calamity of a civil war, and to reflect not only upon his fears, but the unseasonableness also of his jokes: to which Cicero answered, that though their camp, indeed, was full of care and anxiety, yet, in circumstances the most turbulent, there were certain moments of relaxation, which all men, who had any humanity in them, were glad to lay hold on: but while Antony reproached him, both with dejection and joking at the same time, it was a sure proof that he had observed a proper temper and moderation in them both.*

Young Brutus was also in Pompey's camp, where he distinguished himself by a peculiar zeal: which Cicero mentions as the more remarkable, because he had always professed an irreconcileable hatred to Pompey, as to the murderer of his father.† But he followed the cause, not the man: sacrificing all his resentments to the service of his country, and looking now upon Pompey as the general of the Republic, and the defender of their common liberty.

* Ipse fugi adhuc omne munus, eo magis, quod ita nihil poterat agi, ut mihi et meis rebus aptum esset. [Att. xi. 4.] Quod autem idem mœstitiam meam reprehendit, idem jocum; magno argumento est, me in utroque fuisse moderatum. Phil. 2. 16.

Some of Cicero's sayings on this occasion, are preserved by different writers. When Pompey put him in mind of his coming so late to them: "How can I come "late," said he, "when I find nothing in readiness among you?"—and, upon Pompey's asking him, sarcastically, where his son-in-law Dolabella was; "He is with "your father-in-law," replied he. To a person newly arrived from Italy, and informing them of a strong report, at Rome, that Pompey was blocked up by Cæsar; "And you sailed hither, therefore," said he, "that you might see it with your own "eyes." And even after their defeat, when Nonnius was exhorting them to courage, because there were seven eagles still left in Pompey's camp: "You encourage "well," said he, "if we were to fight with jackdaws." By the frequency of these splenetic jokes, he is said to have provoked Pompey, so far as to tell him, "I wish "that you would go over to the other side, that you may begin to fear us." Vid. Macrob. Saturn. 2. 3. Plut. in Cic.

† Brutus amicus in causa versatur acriter. Ad Att. xi. 4.
Vid. Plut. in Brut. et Pomp.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

During the course of this war, Cicero never speaks of Pompey's conduct, but as a perpetual succession of blunders. His first step of leaving Italy was condemned, indeed, by all, but particularly by Atticus; yet to us, at this distance, it seems not only to have been prudent, but necessary.* What shocked people so much at it, was the discovery that it made of his weakness and want of preparation; and after the security, which he had all along affected, and the defiance so oft declared against his adversary, it made him appear contemptible to run away at last on the first approach of Cæsar: "Did you ever see," says Cœlius, "a more silly creature than this Pom-"pey of your's: who, after raising all this bustle, is "found to be such a trifler? or did you ever read "or hear of a man more vigorous in action, more "temperate in victory, than our Cæsar?"†

Pompey had left Italy about a year before Cæsar found it convenient to go after him; during which time he had gathered a vast fleet from all the maritime states and cities dependent on the empire, without making any use of it to distress an enemy who had no fleet at all: he suffered Sicily and Sardinia to fall into Cæsar's hands without a blow; and the important town of Marseilles, after having endured a long siege for its affection to his cause: but his capital error was the giving up Spain, and neglecting to put himself at the head of the best army that he had, in a country devoted to his interests, and commodious for the operations of his naval force: when Cicero first heard of this resolution, he thought it monstrous;‡ and, in truth, the committing that

* Quorum dux quam ἀστρατήγητος, tu quoque animadvertis, cui ne Picena quidem nota sunt: quam autem sine consilio, res testis. Ad Att. 7. 13.

Si iste Italiam relinquet, faciet omnino male, et ut ego existimo ἀλογίστως, &c. Ib. 9, 10.

† Ecquando tu hominem inceptiorem quam tuum Cn. Pompeium vidisti? qui tantas turbas, qui tam nugax esset commorit? ecquem autem Cæsare nostro acriorem in rebus agendis, eodem in victoria temperatiorem, aut legisti aut audisti? Ep. Fam. 8, 15.

‡ Omnis hæc classis Alexandria, Colchis, Tyro, Sidone, Cypro, Pamphilia, Lycia, Rhodo, &c. ad intercludendos Italiæ commeatus—comparatur—Ad Att. 9. 9.

Nunciant Ægyptum—cogitare; Hispaniam abjecisse. Monstra narrant. Ad Att. 9. 11.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

war to his lieutenants against the superior genius and ascendant of Cæsar, was the ruin of his best troops and hopes at once.

Some have been apt to wonder, why Cæsar, after forcing Pompey out of Italy, instead of crossing the sea after him, when he was in no condition to resist, should leave him for the space of a year to gather armies and fleets at his leisure, and strengthen himself with all the forces of the east. But Cæsar had good reasons for what he did: he knew, that all the troops, which could be drawn together from those countries, were no match for his; that if he had pursued him directly to Greece, and driven him out of it, as he had done out of Italy, he should have driven him probably into Spain, where, of all places, he desired the least to meet him; and where, in all events, Pompey had a sure resource, as long as it was possessed by a firm and veteran army: which it was Cæsar's business, therefore, to destroy, in the first place, or he could expect no success from the war; and there was no opportunity of destroying it so favourable, as when Pompey himself was at such a distance from it. This was the reason of his marching back with so much expedition, to find, as he said, an army without a general, and return to a general without an army.* The event shewed, that he judged right; for within forty days from the first sight of his enemy in Spain, he made himself master of the whole province.†

A. Urb. 705. Cic. 59. Coss.—C. Julius Cæsar II. P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus.

After the reduction of Spain, he was created dictator by M. Lepidus, then prætor at Rome, and by his dictatorial power declared himself consul, with P. Servilius Isauricus; but he was no sooner in-

* Ire se ad exercitum sine duce, et inde reversurum ad ducem sine exercitu. Sueton. J. Cæs. 34.

† Cæs. Comm. 1. 2.

A. Urb. 705. Cic. 59. Coss.—C. Julius Cæsar II. P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus.

vested with this office, than he marched to Brundisium, and embarked on the fourth of January, in order to find out Pompey. The carrying about in his person the supreme dignity of the empire, added no small authority to his cause, by making the cities and states abroad the more cautious of acting against him, or giving them a better pretence, at least, for opening their gates to the consul of Rome——.* Cicero, all this while despairing of any good from the war, had been using all his endeavours to dispose his friends to peace, till Pompey forbade any farther mention of it in council, declaring that he valued neither life nor country, for which he must be indebted to Cæsar, as the world must take the case to be, should he accept any conditions in his present circumstances.† He was sensible that he had hitherto been acting a contemptible part, and done nothing equal to the great name which he had acquired in the world; and was determined, therefore, to retrieve his honour before he laid down his arms, by the destruction of his adversary, or to perish in the attempt.

During the blockade of Dyrrhachium, it was a current notion, in Cæsar's army, that Pompey would draw off his troops into his ships, and remove the war to some distant place. Upon this Dolabella, who was with Cæsar, sent a letter to Cicero, into Pompey's camp, exhorting him, that if Pompey should be driven from these quarters, to seek some other country, he would sit down quietly at Athens, or any city romote from the war: that it was time to think of his own safety, and be a friend to himself, rather than to others: that he had now fully satisfied his duty, his friendship, and his engagements to

* Illi se daturos negare, neque portas Consuli præclusuros. Cæs. Comm. 1. 3. 590.

† Desperans victoriam, primum cœpi suadere pacem, cujus fueram semper auctor; deinde cum ab ea sententia Pompeius valde abhorreret. Ep. Fam. 7. 3.

Vibullius—de Cæsaris mandatis agere instituit; eum ingressum in sermonem Pompeius interpellavit, et loqui plura prohibuit. Quid mihi, inquit, aut vita aut civitate opus est, quam beneficio Cæsaris habere videbor? Cæs. Comm. 3. 596.

A. Urb. 705. Cic. 59. Coss.—C. Julius Cæsar II. P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus.

that party, which he had espoused in the Republic: that there was nothing left, but to be where the Republic itself now was, rather than by following that ancient one to be in none at all—and that Cæsar would readily approve this conduct:* but the war took a quite different turn; and, instead of Pompey's running away from Dyrrachium, Cæsar, by an unexpected defeat before it, was forced to retire the first, and leave to Pompey the credit of pursuing him, as in a kind of flight, towards Macedonia.

While the two armies were thus employed, Cœlius, now prætor at Rome, trusting to his power, and the success of his party, began to publish several violent and odious laws, especially one for the cancelling of all debts.† This raised a great flame in the city, till he was over-ruled and deposed from his magistracy by the consul Servilius and the senate: but, being made desperate by this affront, he recalled Milo, from his exile at Marseilles, whom Cæsar had refused to restore: and, in concert with him, resolved to raise some public commotion in favour of Pompey. In this disposition he wrote his last letter to Cicero; in which, after an account of his conversation, and the service which he was projecting, "you are asleep," says he, "and do not "know how open and weak we are here: what are "you doing? are you waiting for a battle, which is "sure to be against you? I am not acquainted with "your troops; but our's have been long used to fight "hard, and to bear cold and hunger with ease."‡ But this disturbance, which began to alarm all Italy, was soon ended, by the death of the authors of it,

* Illud autem a te peto, ut, si jam ille evitaverit hoc periculum, et se abdiderit in classem, tu tuis rebus consulas: et aliquando tibi potius quam cuivis sis amicus. Satis factum est jam a te vel officio, vel familiaritati; satis factum etiam partibus, et ei Reipub. quam tu probabas. Reliquum est, ubi nunc est Respub. ibi simus potius, quam dum veterem illam sequamur, simus in nulla. Ep. Fam. 9. 9.

† Cæs. Comm. 3. 600.

‡ Vos dormitis, nec hæc adhuc mihi videmini intelligere, quam nos pateamus, et quam simus imbecilli——quid istic facitis? prælium expectatis, quod formissimum est? vestras copias non novi. Nostri valde depugnare, et facile algere et esurire consueverint. Ep. Fam. 8. 17.

A. Urb. 705. Cic. 59. Coss.—C. Julius Cæsar II. P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus.

Milo and Cœlius, who perished in their rash attempt, being destroyed by the soldiers, whom they were endeavouring to debauch. They had both attached themselves very early to the interests and the authority of Cicero, and were qualified by their parts and fortunes, to have made a principal figure in the Republic, if they had continued in those sentiments, and adhered to his advice; but their passions, pleasures, and ambition got the ascendant; and, through a factious and turbulent life, hurried them on to this wretched fate.

All thoughts of peace being now laid aside, Cicero's next advice to Pompey was to draw the war into length, nor ever to give Cæsar the opportunity of a battle. Pompey approved this counsel, and pursued it for some time, till he gained the advantage above mentioned before Dyrrachium; which gave him such a confidence in his own troops, and such a contempt of Cæsar's, that "from this moment," says Cicero, "this great man ceased to be a gene-"ral; opposed a raw, new-raised army to the most "robust and veteran legions; was shamefully beaten; "and, with the loss of his camp, forced to fly away "alone."*

Had Cicero's advice been followed, Cæsar must inevitably have been ruined; for Pompey's fleet would have cut off all supplies from him by sea; and it was not possible for him to subsist long at land, while an enemy, superior in number of troops, was perpetually harassing him, and wasting the country: and the report every where spread, of his flying from Dyrrachium, before a victorious army, which was pursuing him, made his march every way the more difficult, and the people of the country more shy of assisting him; till the despicable figure that

* Cum ab ea sententia Pompeius valde abhorreret, suadere institui, ut bellum duceret: hoc interdum probabat et in ea sententia videbatur fore, et fuisset fortasse, nisi quadam ex pugna cœpisset militibus suis confidere. Ex eo tempore vir ille summus nullus Imperator fuit: victus turpissime, amissis etiam castris, solus fugit. Ep. Fam. 7. 3.

A. Urb. 705. Cic. 59. Coss.—C. Julius Cæsar II. P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus.

he seemed to make, raised such an impatience for fighting, and assurance of victory, in the Pompeian chiefs, as drew them to the fatal resolution of giving him battle at Pharsalia. There was another motive, likewise, suggested to us by Cicero, which seems to have had no small influence in determining Pompey to this unhappy step; his superstitious regard to omens, and the admonitions of diviners; to which his nature was strongly addicted. The Haruspices were all on his side, and flattered him with every thing that was prosperous; and, besides those in his own camp, the whole fraternity of them at Rome were sending him perpetual accounts of the fortunate and auspicious significations which they had observed in the entrails of their victims.*

But, after all, it must needs be owned, that Pompey had a very difficult part to act, and much less liberty of executing what he himself approved, than in all the other wars in which he had been engaged. In his wars against foreign enemies, his power was absolute, and all his motions depended on his own will; but in this, besides several kings and princes of the east, who attended him in person, he had with him, in his camp, almost all the chief magistrates and senators of Rome; men of equal dignity with himself, who had commanded armies, and obtained triumphs, and expected a share in all his counsels, and that, in their common danger, no step should be taken, but by their common advice: and, as they were under no engagement to his cause, but what was voluntary, so they were necessarily to be humoured, lest, through disgust, they should desert it. Now these were all uneasy in their present situation, and longed to be at home, in the enjoyment of their estates and honours; and, having a confidence of victory, from the number of their troops, and the

* Hoc civili bello, Dii immortales!——quæ nobis in Græciam Româ responsa Haruspicum missa sunt? quæ dicta Pompeio?——etenim ille admodum extis et ostentis movebatur. De Divin. 2. 24.

A. Urb. 705. Cic. 59. Coss.—C. Julius Cæsar II. P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus.

reputation of their leader, were perpetually teazing Pompey to the resolution of a battle; charging him with a design to protract the war, for the sake of perpetuating his authority, and calling him another Agamemnon, who was proud of holding so many kings and generals under his command;* till, being unable to withstand their reproaches any longer, he was driven, by a kind of shame, and against his judgment, to the experiment of a decisive action.

Cæsar was sensible of Pompey's difficulty, and persuaded that he could not support the indignity of shewing himself afraid of fighting; and from that assurance, exposed himself often more rashly than prudence would otherwise justify: for his besieging Pompey at Dyrrhachium, who was master of the sea, which supplied every thing to him that was wanted, while his own army was starving at land; and the attempt to block up entrenchments so widely extended, with much smaller numbers than were employed to defend them, must needs be thought rash and extravagant, were it not for the expectation of drawing Pompey by it to a general engagement: for when he could not gain that end, his perseverance in the siege had like to have ruined him, and would inevitably have done so, if he had not quitted it, as he himself afterwards owned.†

It must be observed, likewise, that, while Pompey had any walls or intrenchments between him and Cæsar, not all Cæsar's vigour, nor the courage of his veterans, could gain the least advantage against him; but, on the contrary, that Cæsar was baffled and disappointed in every attempt. Thus, at Brun-

* Καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖδε ἀυτὸν βασιλέα καὶ Ἀγαμέμνονα καλούντων, ὅτι κἀκεῖνος βασιλέων διὰ τὸν πολέμων ἦρχεν; ἐξέσῃ τῶν οἰκείων λογισμῶν, καὶ ἐνίκων αὐτοῖς. App. p. 470.

Milites otium, socii moram, principes ambitum ducis increpabant. Flor. l. 4. 2. Dio, p. 185. Plut. in Pomp.

† Cæsar pro natura ferox, et conficiendæ rei cupidus, ostentare aciem, provocare, lacessere; nunc obsidione castrorum, quæ sedecim millium vallo obduxerat; (sed quid his obesset obsidio, qui patente mari omnibus copiis abundarent?) nunc expugnatione Dyrrachii irrita, &c. Flor. l. 4. c. 2.

ἐμελόγει τε μεταγινώσκειν περὶ Δυῤῥαχίου στρατοπεδεύσας, &c. App. p. 463.

A. Urb. 705. Cic. 59. Coss.—C. Julius Cæsar II. P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus.

disium, he could make no impression upon the town, till Pompey, at full leisure, had secured his retreat, and embarked his troops: and at Dyrrhachium, the only considerable action which happened between them, was not only disadvantageous, but almost fatal to him. Thus far, Pompey certainly shewed himself the greater captain, in not suffering a force, which he could not resist in the field, to do him any hurt, or carry any point against him, since that depended on the skill of the general. By the help of entrenchments, he knew how to make his new-raised soldiers a match for Cæsar's veterans; but when he was drawn to encounter him on the open plain, he fought against insuperable odds, by deserting "his "proper arms," as Cicero says, "of caution, coun-"sel, and authority, in which he was superior, and "committing his fate to swords and spears, and "bodily strength, in which his enemies far excelled "him."*

Cicero was not present at the battle of Pharsalia, but was left behind at Dyrrhachium, much out of humour, as well as out of order. His discontent to see all things going wrong on that side, and contrary to his advice, had brought upon him an ill habit of body, and weak state of health, which made him decline all public command; but he promised Pompey to follow, and continue with him, as soon as his health permitted;† and, as a pledge of his sincerity, sent his son, in the meanwhile, along with him, who, though very young, behaved himself gallantly, and acquired great applause by his dexterity of riding and throwing the javelin, and performing every other part of military discipline, at the head

* Non iis rebus pugnabamus, quibus valere poteramus, consilio, auctoritate, causa, quæ erant in nobis superiora; sed lacertis et viribus, quibus pares non fuimus. Ep. Fam. 4. 7.

Dolebamque pilis et gladiis, non consiliis neque auctoritatibus nostris de jure publico disceptari. Ep. Fam. 6. 1.

† Ipse fugi adhuc omne munus, eo magis, quod nihil ita poterat agi, ut mihi et meis rebus aptum esset—me conficit sollicitudo, ex qua etiam summa infirmitas corporis; qua levata, ero cum eo, qui negotium gerit, estque in magna spe. Ad Att. xi. 4.

A. Urb. 705. Cic. 59. Coss.—C. Julius Cæsar II. P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus.

of one of the wings of horse, of which Pompey had given him the command.* Cato staid behind, also, in the camp at Dyrrhachium, which he commanded with fifteen cohorts, when Labienus brought them the news of Pompey's defeat; upon which Cato offered the command to Cicero, as the superior in dignity; and, upon his refusal of it, as Plutarch tells us, young Pompey was so enraged, that he drew his sword, and would have killed him upon the spot, if Cato had not prevented it. This fact is not mentioned by Cicero, yet seems to be referred to in his speech for Marcellus, where he says, that in the very war he had been a perpetual assertor of peace, to the hazard even of his life.† But the wretched news from Pharsalia threw them all into such a consternation, that they presently took shipping, and dispersed themselves severally, as their hopes or inclinations led them, into the different provinces of the empire.‡ The greatest part, who were determined to renew the war, went directly into Afric, the general rendezvous of their scattered forces: whilst others, who were disposed to expect the farther issue of things, and take such measures as fortune offered, retired to Achaia: but Cicero was resolved to make this the end of the war to himself, and recommended the same conduct to his friends, declaring, that as they had been no match for Cæsar when entire, they could not hope to beat him, when shattered and broken:§ and so, after a miserable campaign, of about eighteen months, he committed himself, without hesitation, to the mercy of the conqueror, and landed again at Brundisium about the end of October.

* Quo tamen in bello cum te Pompeius alæ alteri præfecisset, magnam laudem et a summo viro et ab exercitu consequebare, equitando, jaculando, omni militari labore tolerando: atque ea quidem tua laus pariter cum Repub. cecidit. De Offic. 2. 13.

† Multa de pace dixi, et in ipso bello, eadem etiam cum capitis mei periculo sensi. Pro Marcell. 5.

‡ Paucis sane post diebus ex Pharsalica fuga venisse Labienum: qui cum interitum exercitus nunciavisset—naves subito perterriti conscendistis. De Divin. l. 32.

§ Hunc ego belli mihi finem feci: nec putavi, cum integri pares non fuissemus, fractos superiores fore. Ep. Fam. 7. 3.

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coss.—C. Jul. Cæsar Dictat. II. M. Antonius Mag. Equit.

SECTION VIII.

CICERO no sooner returned to Italy, than he began to reflect, that he had been too hasty in coming home, before the war was determined, and without any invitation from the conqueror; and in a time of that general licence, had reason to apprehend some insult from the soldiers, if he ventured to appear in public with his fasces and laurel; and yet to drop them, would be a diminution of that honour, which he had received from the Roman people, and the acknowledgment of a power superior to the laws: he condemned himself, therefore, for not continuing abroad, in some convenient place of retirement, till he had been sent for, or things were better settled.* What gave him the greater reason to repent of this step, was a message which he received from Antony, who governed all in Cæsar's absence, and with the same churlish spirit with which he would have held him before in Italy against his will, seemed now disposed to drive him out of it; for he sent him the copy of a letter from Cæsar, in which Cæsar signified, that he had heard that Cato and Metellus were at Rome, and appeared openly there, which might occasion some disturbance: wherefore he strictly enjoined, that none should be suffered to come to Italy without a special licence from himself. Antony, therefore, desired Cicero to excuse him, since he could not help obeying Cæsar's commands; but Cicero sent L. Lamia to assure him that Cæsar had ordered Dolabella to write to him to come to Italy as soon as he pleased; and that he came upon the authority

* Ego vero et incaute, ut scribis, celerius quam oportuit, feci, &c. Ad Att. xi. 9. Quare voluntatis me meæ nunquam pœnitebit, consilii pœnitet. In oppido aliquo mallem resedisse, quoad arcesserer. Minus sermonis subiissem: minus accepissem doloris: ipsum hoc non me angeret. Brundisii jacere in omnes partes est molestum. Propius accedere, ut suades, quomodo sine lictoribus, quos populus dedit, possum? qui mihi incolumi adimi non possunt. Ad Att. xi. 6.

of Dolabella's letter: so that Antony, in the edict, which he published to exclude the Pompeians from Italy, excepted Cicero by name; which added still to his mortification, since all his desire was to be connived at only, or tacitly permitted, without being personally distinguished from the rest of his party.*

But he had several other grievances of a domestic kind, which concurred also to make him unhappy: his brother Quintus, with his son, after their escape from Pharsalia, followed Cæsar into Asia, to obtain their pardon from him in person. Quintus had particular reason to be afraid of his resentment, on account of the relation which he had borne to him, as one of his lieutenants in Gaul, where he had been treated by him with great generosity; so that Cicero himself would have dissuaded him from going over to Pompey, but could not prevail: yet in this common calamity, Quintus, in order to make his own peace the more easily, resolved to throw all the blame upon his brother, and, for that purpose, made it the subject of all his letters and speeches to Cæsar's friends, to rail at him in a manner the most inhuman.

Cicero was informed of this from all quarters, and that young Quintus, who was sent before towards Cæsar, had read an oration to his friends, which he had prepared to speak to him against his uncle. Nothing, as Cicero says, ever happened more shocking to him; and, though he had no small diffidence of Cæsar's inclination, and many enemies labouring to do him ill offices, yet his greatest concern was, lest his brother and nephew should hurt

* Sed quid ego de *lictoribus*, qui pæne ex Italia decedere *sim* jussus? nam ad me misit Antonius exemplum Cæsaris ad se literarum; in quibus erat, se audisse, Catonem et L. Metellum in Italiam venisse, Romæ ut essent palam, &c. Tum ille edixit ita, ut me exciperet et Lælium nominatim. Quod sane nollem. Poterat enim sine nomine, re ipsa excipi. O multas graves offensiones! Ad Att. xi. 7.

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Cos.—C. Jul. Cæsar Dictat. II. M. Antonius Mag. Equit.

themselves rather than him, by their perfidy:* for, under all the sense of this provocation, his behaviour was just the reverse of their's; and having been informed that Cæsar, in a certain conversation, had charged his brother with being the author of their going away to Pompey, he took occasion to write to him in the following terms:

"As for my bother, I am not less solicitous for "his safety, than my own; but, in my present situa- "tion, dare not venture to recommend him to you: "all that I can pretend to, is, to beg that you "will not believe him to have ever done any thing "towards obstructing my good offices, and affec- "tion to you; but rather, that he was always the "adviser of our union, and the companion, not the "leader, of my voyage: wherefore, in all other re- "spects, I leave it you to treat him, as your own "humanity, and his friendship with you, require; "but I intreat you, in the most pressing manner, "that I may not be the cause of hurting him with "you, on any account whatsoever."†

He found himself, likewise, at this time, in some distress for want of money, which, in that season of public distraction, it was very difficult to procure, either by borrowing or selling; the sum which he advanced to Pompey had drained him; and his wife, by her indulgence to stewards, and favourite servants, had made great waste of what was left at home; and, instead of saving any thing from their rents, had plunged him deeply into debt; so that Atticus's purse was the chief fund which he had to trust to for his present support.‡

* Quintus misit filium non solum sui deprecatorem, sed etiam accusatorem mei—neque vero desistet, ubicunque est omnia in me maledicta conferre. Nihil mihi unquam tam incredibile accidit, nihil in his malis tam acerbum. Ad Att. xi. 8.

Epistolas mihi legerunt plenas omnium in me probrorum—ipsi enim illi putavi perniciosum fore, si ejus hoc tantum scelus percrebuisset. Ib. 9.

Quintum filium—volumen sibi ostendisse orationis, quam apud Cæsarem contra me esset habiturus—multa postea Patris, consimili scelere Patrem esse locutum. Ib. 10.

† Cum mihi litteræ a Balbo minore missæ essent, Cæsarem existimare, Quintum fratrem lituum meæ profectionis fuisse, sic enim scripsit. Ib. 12.

‡ Velim consideres ut sit, unde nobis suppeditentur sumtus necessarii. Si quas

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coss.—C. Jul. Cæsar Dictat. II. M. Antonius Mag. Equit.

The conduct of Dolabella was a further mortification to him; who, by the fiction of an adoption into a plebeian family, had obtained the tribunate this year, and was raising great tumults and disorders in Rome, by a law, which he published, to expunge all debts. Laws of that kind had been often attempted by desperate or ambitious magistrates; but were always detested by the better sort, and particularly by Cicero, who treats them as pernicious to the peace and prosperity of states, and sapping the very foundations of civil society, by destroying all faith and credit among men.* No wonder, therefore, that we find him taking this affair so much to heart, and complaining so heavily in many of his letters to Atticus, of the famed acts of his son-in-law, as an additional source of affliction and disgrace to him.† Dolabella was greatly embarrassed in his fortunes, and, while he was with Cæsar abroad, seems to have left his wife destitute of necessaries at home, and forced to recur to her father for subsistence. Cicero, likewise, either through the difficulty of the times, or for want of a sufficient settlement on Dolabella's part, had not yet paid all her fortune; which it was usual to do at three different payments, within a time limited by law: he had discharged the two first, and was now preparing to make the third payment, which he frequently and pressingly recommends to the care of Atticus.‡ But Dolabella's whole life and character were so entirely contrary to the manners

habuimus facultates, eas Pompeio, tum, cum id videbamur sapiénter facere, detulimus. Ad Att. xi. 13. 2. 22, &c.

* Nec enim ulla res vehementius Rempub. continet, quam fides; quæ esse nulla potest, nisi erit necessaria solutio rerum creditarum, &c. de Offic. 2. 24.

† Quod me audis fractiorem esse animo; quid putas, cum videas accessisse ad superiores ægritudines præclaras generi actiones? Ad Att. xi. 12.

Etsi omnium conspectum horreo, præsertim hoc genero. Ib. 14, 15, &c.

‡ De dote, quod scribis, per omnes Deos te obtestor, ut totam rem suscipias, et illam miseram mea culpa——tueare meis opibus, si quæ sunt; tuis, quibus tibi non molestum erit facultatibus. Ib. xi. 2.

De pensione altera oro te, omni cura considera quid faciendum sit. Ib. 4.

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coss.—C. Jul. Cæsar Dictat. II. M. Antonius Mag. Equit.

and temper both of Cicero and Tullia, that a divorce ensued between them not long after, though the account of it is delivered so darkly, that it is hard to say at what time or from what side it first arose.

In these circumstances, Tullia paid her father a visit at Brundisium, on the thirteenth of June: but his great love for her made their meeting only the more afflicting to him in that abject state of their fortunes: "I was so far," says he, "from taking "that pleasure which I ought to have done from "the virtue, humanity, and piety of an excellent "daughter, that I was exceedingly grieved to see "so deserving a creature in such an unhappy con-"dition, not by her own, but wholly by my fault: "I saw no reason, therefore, for keeping her longer "here, in this our common affliction; but was wil-"ling to send her back to her mother, as soon as "she would consent to it."*

At Brundisium he received the news of Pompey's death, which did not surprise him, as we find from the short reflection that he makes upon it.—"As to Pompey's end," says he, "I never had any "doubt about it: for the lost and desperate state "of his affairs had so possessed the minds of all the "kings and states abroad, that whithersoever he "went, I took it for granted that this would be "his fate: I cannot, however, help grieving at it; "for I knew him to be an honest, grave, and wor-"thy man."†

This was the short and true character of the man, from one who perfectly knew him; not heightened,

* Tullia mea ad me venit prid. id. Jun. Ego autem ex ipsius virtute, humanitate, pietate non modo eam voluptatem non cepi, quam capere ex singulari filia debui, sed etiam incredibili sum dolore affectus, tale ingenium in tam misera fortuna versari. Ad Att. xi. 17. Ep. Fam. 14. 11.

† De Pompeii exitu mihi dubium nunquam fuit: tanta enim desperatio rerum ejus omnium Regum et populorum animos occuparat, ut quocunque venisset, hoc putarem futurum. Non possum ejus casum non dolere: hominem enim integrum et castum et gravem cognovi. Ad Att. xi. 6.

as we sometimes find it, by the shining colours of his eloquence; nor depressed by the darker strokes of his resentment. Pompey had early acquired the surname of the GREAT, by that sort of merit, which, from the constitution of the Republic, necessarily made him great; a fame and success in war, superior to what Rome had ever known in the most celebrated of her generals. He had triumphed at three several times over the three different parts of the known world, Europe, Asia, Africa; and, by his victories, had almost doubled the extent, as well as the revenues, of the Roman dominion; for, as he declared to the people on his return from the Mithridatic war, he had found the lesser Asia the boundary, but left it the middle of their empire. He was about six years older than Cæsar; and while Cæsar, immersed in pleasures, oppressed with debts, and suspected by all honest men, was hardly able to shew his head, Pompey was flourishing in the height of power and glory, and, by the consent of all parties, placed at the head of the Republic. This was the post that his ambition seemed to aim at, to be the first man in Rome; the leader, not the tyrant, of his country; for he more than once had it in his power to have made himself the master of it, without any risk, if his virtue, or his phlegm at least, had not restrained him: but he lived in a perpetual expectation of receiving, from the gift of the people, what he did not care to seize by force; and, by fomenting the disorders of the city, hoped to drive them to the necessity of creating him dictator. It is an observation of all the historians, that while Cæsar made no difference of power, whether it was conferred or usurped; whether over those who loved, or those who feared him; Pompey seemed to value none but what was offered; nor to have any desire to govern, but with the good will of the governed. What leisure he found from his wars, he employed in the study of polite letters, and espe-

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cially of eloquence, in which he would have acquired great fame, if his genius had not drawn him to the more dazzling glory of arms: yet he pleaded several causes with applause, in the defence of his friends and clients; and some of them in conjunction with Cicero. His language was copious and elevated; his sentiments just; his voice sweet; his action noble and full of dignity. But his talents were better formed for arms than the gown: for though in both he observed the same dicipline, a perpetual modesty, temperance, and gravity of outward behaviour; yet in the licence of camps, the example was more rare and striking. His person was extremely graceful, and imprinting respect; yet, with an air of reserve and haughtiness, which became the general better than the citizen. His parts were plausible, rather than great; specious rather than penetrating; and his view of politics but narrow: for his chief instrument of governing was dissimulation; yet he had not always the art to conceal his real sentiments. As he was a better soldier than a statesman, so what he gained in the camp, he usually lost in the city; and though adored when abroad, was often affronted and mortified at home; till the imprudent opposition of the senate drove him to that alliance with Crassus and Cæsar, which proved fatal both to himself and the Republic. He took in these two, not as the partners, but the ministers rather of his power; that, by giving them some share with him, he might make his own authority uncontrollable: he had no reason to apprehend that they could ever prove his rivals; since neither of them had any credit or character of that kind, which alone could raise them above the laws; a superior fame and experience in war, with the malitia of the empire at their devotion. All this was purely his own, till by cherishing Cæsar, and throwing into his hands the only thing which he wanted, arms and military

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command, he made him, at last, too strong for himself, and never began to fear him till it was too late. Cicero warmly dissuaded both his union and his breach with Cæsar; and, after the rupture, as warmly still, the thought of giving him battle: if any of these counsels had been followed, Pompey had preserved his life and honour, and the Republic its liberty. But he was urged to his fate by a natural superstition, and attention to those vain auguries, with which he was flattered by all the Haruspices. He had seen the same temper in Marius and Sylla, and observed the happy effects of it: but they assumed it only out of policy, he out of principle. They used it to animate their soldiers; when they had found a probable opportunity of fighting; but he, against all prudence and probability, was encouraged by it to fight to his own ruin. He saw all his mistakes at last, when it was out of his power to correct them; and; in his wretched flight from Pharsalia, was forced to confess, that he had trusted too much to his hopes, and that Cicero had judged better, and seen farther into things than he. The resolution of seeking refuge in Egypt, finished the sad catastrophe of this great man: the father of the reigning prince had been highly obliged to him for his protection at Rome, and restoration to his kingdom; and the son had sent a considerable fleet to his assistance, in the present war: but, in this ruin of his fortunes, what gratitude was there to be expected from a court governed by eunuchs and mercenary Greeks? all whose politics turned, not on the honour of the king, but the establishment of their own power; which was likely to be eclipsed by the admission of Pompey. How happy had it been for him to have died in that sickness, when all Italy was putting up vows and prayers for his safety; or if he had fallen, by the chance of war, on the plains of Pharsalia, in the defence of his country's liberty, he had

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died still glorious, though unfortunate: but, as if he had been reserved for an example of the instability of human greatness, he, who a few days before commanded kings and consuls, and all the noblest of Rome, was sentenced to die by a council of slaves; murdered by a base deserter; cast out naked and headless on the Egyptian strand; and, "when the whole earth," as Velleius says, "had "scarce been sufficient for his victories, could not "find a spot upon it at last for a grave." His body was burnt on the shore by one of his freedmen, with the planks of an old fishing-boat; and his ashes being conveyed to Rome, were deposited, privately, by his wife Cornelia, in a vault of his Alban villa. The Egyptians, however, raised a monument to him on the place, and adorned it with figures of brass, which being defaced afterwards by time, and buried almost in sand and rubbish, was sought out and restored by the Emperor Hadrian.*

* Hujus viri fastigium tantis auctibus fortuna extulit, ut primum ex Africa, iterum ex Europa, tertio ex Asia triumpharet; et quot partes terrarum Orbis sunt, totidem faceret monumenta victoriæ [Vell. Pat. 2. 40.] Ut ipse in concione dixit. Asiam ultimam provinciarum accepisse mediam patriæ reddidisse. [Plin. Hist. 7. 26. Flor. 3. 5.] Potentiæ quæ honoris causâ ad eum deferretur, non ut ab eo occuparetur, cupidissimus. [Vell. Pat. 2 29. Dio, p. 178.] Meus autem æqualis Cn. Pompeius, vir ad omnia summa natus, majorem dicendi gloriam habuisset, nisi eum majoris gloriæ cupiditas ad bellicas laudes abstraxisset. Erat oratione satis amplus: rem prudenter videbat: actio vero ejus habebat et in voce magnum splendorem, et in motu summam dignitatem. [Brut. 354. vid. it. pro Balb. 1, 2.] Forma excellens, non ea, qua flos commendatur ætatis, sed ex dignitate constanti. [Vell. Pat. 2. 29.] Illud os probum, ipsumque honorem eximiæ frontis. [Plin. Hist. 7. 12.] Solet enim alind sentire et loqui, neque tantum valere ingenio, ut non appareat quid cupiat. [Ep. Fam. 8. 1.] Ille aluit, auxit, armavit—ille Galliæ ulterioris adjunctor—ille provinciæ propagator; ille absentis in omnibus adjutor. [Ad Att. 8. 3.] Aluerat Cæsarem, eundem repente timere cœperat. [Ib. 8.] Ego nihil prætermisi, quantum facere, nitique potui, quin Pompeium a Cæsaris conjunctione avocarem—idem ego, cum jam omnes opes et suas et populi Romani Pompeius ad Cæsarem detulisset, seroque ea sentire cœpisset, quæ ego ante multo provideram—pacis, concordiæ, compositionis auctor esse non destiti; meaque illa vox est nota multis, Utinam, Pompei, cum Cæsare societatem aut nunquam coisses, aut nunquam diremisses!—hæc mea, Antoni, et de Pompeio et de Repub. consilia fuerunt: quæ si valuissent, Respub. staret. [Phil. 2. 10.] Multi testes, me et initio ne conjungeret se cum Cæsare, monuisse Pompeium, et postea, ne sejungeret, &c. [Ep. Fam. 6. 6.] Quid vero singularis ille vir ac pæne divinus de me senserit, sciunt, qui eum de Pharsalica fuga Paphum prosecuti sunt: nunquam ab eo mentio de me nisi honorifica—cum me vidisse plus fateretur, se speravisse meliora. [Ib. 15.] Qui si mortem tum obisset, in amplissimis fortunis occidisset; is propagatione vitæ quot, quantas, quam incredibiles hausit calamitates? [Tusc. Disp. 1. 35.] In Pelusiaco littore, imperio vilissimi

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On the news of Pompey's death, Cæsar was declared dictator the second time in his absence, and M. Antony, his master of the horse, who, by virtue of that post, governed all things absolutely in Italy. Cicero continued all the while at Brundisium, in a situation wholly disagreeable, and worse to him, he says, than any punishment: for the air of the place began to affect his health, and, to the uneasiness of mind, added an ill state of body:* yet, to move nearer towards Rome, without leave from his new masters, was not thought advisable; nor did Antony encourage it; being pleased rather, we may believe, to see him well mortified: so that he had no hopes of any ease or comfort, but in the expectation of Cæsar's return, which made his stay in that place the more necessary, for the opportunity of paying his early compliments to him at landing.

But what gave him the greatest uneasiness was, to be held still in suspense, in what touched him the most nearly, the case of his own safety, and of Cæsar's disposition towards him: for, though all Cæsar's friends assured him not only of pardon, but of all kind of favour, yet he had received no intimation of kindness from Cæsar himself, who was so embarrassed in Egypt, that he had no leisure to think of Italy, and did not so much as write a letter thither from December to June; for as he had rashly,

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Regis, consiliis spadonum, et ne quid malis desit, Septimii desertoris sui gladio trucidator. [Flor. 4. 2. 52.] Ægyptum petere proposuit, memor beneficiorum quæ in Patrem ejus Ptolemæi,—qui tum regnabat, contulerat—Princeps Romani nominis, imperio, arbitrioque Ægyptii mancipii jugulatus est—in tantum in illo viro a se discordante fortuna, ut cui modo ad victoriam terra defuerat, deesset ad sepulturam. Vell. Pat. 2. 54. vid. Dio, p. 186. it. Appian. 2. 481.

Provida Pompeio dederat Campania febres
Optandas. Sed multæ urbes, et publica vota
Vicerunt. Igitur fortuna ipsius et Urbis
Servatum victo caput abstulit. Juv. x. 283.

* Quodvis enim supplicium levius est hac permansione. Ad. Att. xi. 18. Jam enim corpore vix sustineo gravitatem hujus cœli, qui mihi laborem affert, in dolore. Ib. 22.

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and out of gaiety, as it were, involved himself there in a most desperate war, to the hazard of all his fortunes, he was ashamed, as Cicero says,* to write any thing about it, till he had extricated himself out of that difficulty.

His enemies, in the mean time, had greatly strengthened themselves in Afric, where P. Varus, who first seized it on the part of the Republic, was supported by all the force of King Juba, Pompey's fast friend, and had reduced the whole province to his obedience: for Curio, after he had driven Cato out of Sicily, being ambitious to drive Varus also out of Afric, and having transported thither the best part of four legions, which Cæsar had committed to him, was, after some little success upon his landing, entirely defeated and destroyed, with his whole army, in an engagement with Sabura, King Juba's general.

Curio was a young nobleman of shining parts, admirably formed, by nature, to adorn that character, in which his father and grandfather had flourished before him, of one of the principal orators of Rome. Upon his entrance into the Forum, he was committed to the care of Cicero; but a natural propension to pleasure, stimulated by the example and counsels of his perpetual companion Antony, hurried him into all the extravagance of expense and debauchery: for Antony, who always wanted money, with which Curio abounded, was ever obsequious to his will, and ministering to his lusts, for the opportunity of gratifying his own; so that no boy, purchased for the use of lewdness, was more in a master's power, than Antony in Curio's. He was equally prodigal of his money, and his modesty; and not only of his own, but of other people's: so that Cicero, alluding to the infamous effeminacy of his life, calls him, in one of his letters, Miss Curio. But when the father, by Cicero's advice, had obliged him, by his paternal au-

* Ille enim ita videtur Alexandriam tenere, ut cùm scibere etiam pudeat de illis rebus. Ib. xi. 15.

Nec post idus Decemb. ab illo datas ullas litteras. Ib. 17.

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thority, to quit the familiarity of Antony, he reformed his conduct, and, adhering to the instructions and maxims of Cicero, became the favourite of the city, the leader of the young nobility, and a warm assertor of the authority of the senate, against the power of the triumvirate. After his father's death, upon his first taste of public honours, and admission into the senate, his ambition and thirst of popularity engaged him in so immense a prodigality, that to supply the magnificence of his shows and plays, with which he entertained the city, he was soon driven to the necessity of selling himself to Cæsar, having no revenue left, as Pliny says, but from the discord of his citizens. For this, he is considered commonly, by the old writers, as the chief instrument, and the trumpet, as it were, of the civil war, in which he justly fell the first victim; yet, after all his luxury and debauch, fought and died with a courage truly Roman, which would have merited a better fate, if it had been employed in a better cause; for, upon the loss of the battle, and his best troops, being admonished by his friends to save himself by flight, he answered, "That, after losing an army, which had "been committed to him by Cæsar, he could never "shew his face to him again;" and so continued fighting till he was killed among the last of his soldiers.

* *Haud alium tanta civem tulit indole Roma.* Lucan. 4. 814.

Una familia Curionum, in qua tres continua serie oratores extiterunt. Plin. Hist. 7. 41.

Naturam habuit admirabilem ad dicendum. Brut. 406.

Nemo unquam puer, emptus libidinis causa, tam fuit in domini potestate, quam tu in Curionis. [Philip. 2. 18.] duce filiola Curionis. [Ad Att. 1. 14.]

Vir nobilis, eloquens, audax, suæ alienæque et fortunæ et pudicitiæ prodigus—cujus animo, voluptatibus vel libidinibus, neque opes ullæ neque cupiditates sufficere possent. [Vell. Pat. 248.]

Nisi meis puer olim fidelissimis atque amantissimis consiliis paruisses. [Ep. Fam. 2. 1.]

Bello autem civili—non alius majorem quam C. Curio subjecit facem. Vell. Pat. 2. 48.

Quid nunc rostra tibi prosunt turbata, forumque
Unde tribunitia plebeius signifer aree
Arma dabas populis, &c.

Lucan. 4. 800.

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Curio's death happened before the battle of Pharsalia, while Cæsar was engaged in Spain,* by which means Africa fell entirely into the hands of the Pompeians, and became the general rendezvous of all that party: hither Scipio, Cato, and Labienus conveyed the remains of their scattered troops from Greece, as Afranius and Petreius likewise did from Spain; till, on the whole, they had brought together again a more numerous army than Cæsar's, and were in such high spirits, as to talk of coming over with it into Italy, before Cæsar could return from Alexandria.† This was confidently given out, and expected at Rome; and, in that case, Cicero was sure to be treated as a deserter; for, while Cæsar looked upon all men as friends, who did not act against him, and pardoned even enemies, who submitted to his power; it was a declared law, on the other side, to consider all as enemies who were not actually in their camp:‡ so that Cicero had nothing now to wish, either for himself, or the Republic, but, in the first place, a peace, of which he had still some hopes;§ or else, that Cæsar might conquer; whose victory was like to prove the more temperate of the two: which makes him often lament the unhappy situation to which he was reduced, where nothing could be of any service to him, but what he had always abhorred.‖

Under this anxiety of mind, it was an additional

At Curio, nunquam amisso exercitu, quem a Cæsare fidei suæ commissum acceperat, se in ejus conspectum reversurum, confirmat; atque ita prælians interficitur. Cæs. Comm. de Bell. Civ. 2.

* —*Ante jaces, quam dira duces Pharsalia confert,*
Spectandumque tibi bellum civile negatum est. Lucan. ib.

† Ii autem ex Africa jam affuturi videntur. Ad Att. xi. 15.

‡ Te enim dicere audiebamus, nos omnes adversarios putare, nisi qui nobiscum essent: te omnes, qui contra te non essent, tuos. Pro Ligar. xi. it. ad Att. xi. 6.

§ Est autem, unum, quod mihi sit optandum, si quid agi de pace possit: quod nulla equidem habeo in spe: sed quia tu leviter interdum significas, cogis me sperare quod optandum vix est. Ad Att. xi. 19. it. 12.

‖ Mihi cum omnia sunt intolerabilia ad dolorem, tum maxime, quod in eam causam eniisse me video, ut ea sola utilia mihi esse videantur, quæ semper nolui. Ad Att. i. 13.

exaction to him to hear that his reputation was attacked at Rome, for submitting so hastily to the conqueror, or putting himself rather at all into his power. Some condemned him for not following Pompey; some more severely for not going to Afric, as the greatest part had done; others, for not retiring with many of his party to Achaia; till they could see the farther progress of the war. As he was always extremely sensible of what was said of him by honest men, so he begs of Atticus to be his advocate; and gives him some hints, which might be urged in his defence. As to the first charge, for not following Pompey, he says, that Pompey's fate would extenuate the omission of that step: of the second, that though he knew many brave men to be in Afric, yet it was his opinion, that the Republic neither could, nor ought to be defended by the help of so barbarous and treacherous a nation: as to the third, he wishes indeed that he had joined himself to those in Achaia, and owns them to be in a better condition than himself, because they were many of them together; and whenever they returned to Italy, would be restored to their own at once; whereas he was confined like a prisoner of war to Brundisium, without the liberty of stirring from it till Cæsar arrived.*

While he continued in this uneasy state, some of his friends, at Rome, contrived to send him a letter in Cæsar's name, dated the ninth of February, from Alexandria, encouraging him to lay aside all gloomy apprehensions, and expect every thing that was kind and friendly from him: but it was drawn in terms so light and general, that instead of giving him any satisfaction, it made him only suspect, what he perceived afterwards to be true, that it was forged by

* Dicebar debuisse cum Pompeio proficisci. Exitus illius minuit ejus officii prætermissi reprehensionem. Sed ex omnibus nihil magis desideratur, quam quod in Africam non ierim. Judicio hoc sum usus, non esse barbaris auxiliis fallacissimæ gentis Rempub. defendendam—extremum est eorum, qui in Achaia sunt. Ii tamen ipsi se hoc melius habent, quam nos, quod et multi sunt uno in loco, et cum in Italiam venerint, domum statim venerint. Hæc tu perge, ut facis, mitigare et probare quam plurimis. Ad Att. xi. 7.

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Balbus or Oppius, on purpose to raise his spirits, and administer some little comfort to him.* All his accounts, however, confirmed to him the report of Cæsar's clemency and moderation, and his granting pardon, without exception, to all who asked it; and with regard to himself, Cæsar sent Quintus's virulent letters to Balbus, with orders to shew them to him, as a proof of his kindness and dislike of Quintus's perfidy. But Cicero's present despondency, which interpreted every thing by his fears, made him suspect Cæsar the more, for refusing grace to none; as if such a clemency must needs be affected, and his revenge deferred only to a season more convenient: and as to his brother's letters, he fancied that Cæsar did not send them to Italy because he condemned them, but to make his present misery and abject condition the more notorious and despicable to every body.†

But, after a long series of perpetual mortifications, he was refreshed at last by a very obliging letter from Cæsar, who confirmed to him the full enjoyment of his former state and dignity, and bade him resume his fasces and style of emperor as before.‡ Cæsar's mind was too great to listen to the tales of the brother and nephew; and, instead of approving their treachery, seems to have granted them their pardon on Cicero's account, rather than their own; so that Quintus, upon the trial of Cæsar's inclination, began presently to change his note,

* Ut me ista epistola nihil consoletur: nam et exigue scripta, est et magnas suspiciones habet, non esse ab illo. Ad Att. xi. 16.

Ex quo intelligis, illud de litteris a. d. v. Id. Feb. datis (quod inane esset, etiam si verum esset) non verum esse. Ib. 17.

† Omnino dicitur nemini negare: quod ipsum est suspectum, notionem ejus differri. Ib. 20.

Diligenter mihi fasciculum reddidit Balbi tabellarius—quod ne Cæsar quidem ad istos videtur misisse, quasi quo illius improbitate offenderetur, sed credo, uti notiora nostra mala essent. Ib. 22.

‡ Redditæ mihi tandem sunt a Cæsare litteræ satis liberales. Ep. Fam. 14. 23.

Qui ad me ex Ægypto litteras misit, ut essem idem, qui fuissem: qui cum ipse Imperator in toto imperio populi Romani unus esset, esse me alterum passus est: a quo —concessos fasces laureatos tenui, quoad tenendos putavi. Pro Ligar. 3.

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and to congratulate with his brother on Cæsar's affection and esteem for him.*

Cicero was now preparing to send his son to wait upon Cæsar, who was supposed to be upon his journey towards home; but the uncertain accounts of his coming diverted him awhile from that thought;† till Cæsar himself prevented it, and relieved him, very agreeably, from his tedious residence at Brundisium, by his sudden and unexpected arrival in Italy; where he landed, at Tarentum, in the month of September; and, on the first notice of his coming forward towards Rome, Cicero set out on foot to meet him.

We may easily imagine, what we find, indeed, from his letters, that he was not a little discomposed at the thoughts of this interview, and the indignity of offering himself to a conqueror, against whom he had been in arms, in the midst of a licentious and insolent rabble: for though he had reason to expect a kind reception from Cæsar, yet he hardly thought his life, he says, worth begging; since what was given by a master, might always be taken away again at pleasure.‡ But, at their meeting, he had no occasion to say or do any thing that was below his dignity; for Cæsar no sooner saw him, than he alighted and ran to embrace him; and walked with him alone, conversing very familiarly for several furlongs.§

From this interview, Cicero followed Cæsar towards Rome: he proposed to be at Tusculum on the seventh or eighth of October; and wrote to his wife to provide for his reception there, with a large

* Sed mihi valde Quintus gratulatur. Ad Att. xi. 23.

† Ego cum Sallustio Ciceronem ad Cæsarem mittere cogitabam. Ib. 17.
De illius Alexandria discessu nihil adhuc rumoris: contraque opinio—itaque nec mitto, ut constitueram, Ciceronem. Ib. 18.

‡ Sed non adducor, quemquam bonum ullam salutem mihi tanti fuisse putare, ut eam peterem ab illo. Ad Att. xi. 16.
Sed—ab hoc ipso quæ dantur, ut a Domino, rursus in ejusdem sunt potestate. Ib. 20.

§ Plut. in Cic.

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company of friends, who designed to make some stay with him.* From Tusculum he came afterwards to the city, with a resolution to spend his time in study and retreat, till the Republic should be restored to some tolerable state; having made his peace again; as he writes to Varro, with his old friends, his books, who had been out of humour with him for not obeying their precepts; but, instead of living quietly with them, as Varro had done, committing himself to the turbulent counsels and hazards of war, with faithless companions.†

On Cæsar's return to Rome he appointed P. Vatinius and Q. Fufius Calenus, consuls for the three last months of the year: this was a very unpopular use of his new power, which he continued, however, to practise through the rest of his reign; creating these first magistrates of the state, without any regard to the ancient forms, or recourse to the people, and at any time of the year; which gave a sensible disgust to the city, and an early specimen of the arbitrary manner in which he designed to govern them.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coss.—C. Julius Cæsar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

About the end of the year, Cæsar embarked for Afric, to pursue the war against Scipio, and the other Pompeian generals, who, assisted by king Juba, held the possession of that province with a vast army. As he was sacrificing for the success of this voyage, the victim happened to break loose, and run away from the altar; which being looked upon as an unlucky omen, the aruspex admonished him not to sail before the winter solstice: but he took ship directly, in contempt of the admonition;

* Ep. Fam. 14. 20.

† Scito enim me posteaquam in urbem venerim, redisse cum veteribus amicis, id est, cum libris nostris in gratiam—ignoscunt mihi, revocant in consuetudinem pristinam, teque, quod in ea permanseris, sapientiorem, quam me dicunt fuisse, &c. Ep. Fam. 9. 1.

and, by that means, as Cicero says, came upon his enemies unprepared, and before they had drawn together all their forces.* Upon his leaving the city, he declared himself consul, together with M. Lepidus, for the year ensuing; and gave the government of the Hither Gaul to M. Brutus; of Greece, to Servius Sulpicius; the first of whom had been in arms against him at Pharsalia; and the second was a favourer, likewise, of the Pompeian cause, and a great friend of Cicero, yet seems to have taken no part in the war.†

The African war now held the whole empire in suspense; Scipio's name was thought ominous and invincible on that ground: but while the general attention was employed on the expectation of some decisive blow, Cicero, despairing of any good from either side, chose to live retired, and out of sight; and, whether in the city or the country, shut himself up with his books; which, as he often says, had hitherto been the diversion only, but were now become the support of his life.‡ In this humour of study, he entered into a close friendship and correspondence of letters with M. Terentius Varro; a friendship equally valued on both sides, and, at Varro's desire, immortalized by the mutual dedication of their

* Quid? ipse Cæsar, cum a summo haruspice moneretur, ne in Africam ante brumam transmitteret, nonne transmisit? quod ni fecisset, uno in loco omnes adversariorum copiæ convenissent. De Divin. 2. 24.

Cum immolanti aufugisset hostia profectionem adversus Scipionem et Jubam non distulit. Sucton. J. Cæs. 59.

Hirtius, in his account of this war, says, that Cæsar embarked at Lilybæum for Afric on the 6th of the kalends of Jan. [De Bell. Afric. init.] That is, on the 27th of our December: whereas Cicero, in the passage just cited, declares him to have posed over before the solstice on the shortest day. But this seeming contradiction is entirely owing to a cause already intimated, the great confusion that was introduced, at this time, into the Roman kalendar, by which the months were all transposed from their stated seasons; so that the 27th of December, on which, according to their computation, Cæsar embarked, was in reality coincident, or the same with our 8th of October, and consequently above two months before the solstice, or shortest day. All which is clearly and accurately explained in a learned dissertation, published by a person of eminent merit in the University of Cambridge, who chooses to conceal his name. See Bibliothec. Literar. No. VIII. Lond. 1724. 4to.

† Brutum Galliæ præfecit; Sulpicium Græciæ. Ep. Fam. 6. 6.

‡ A quibus antea delectationem modo petebamus, nunc vero etiam salutem. Ep. Fam. 9. 2.

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learned works to each other; of Cicero's Academic Questions to Varro; of Varro's Treatise on the Latin Tongue to Cicero. Varro was a senator of the first distinction, both for birth and merit; esteemed the most learned man of Rome; and though now above fourscore years old, yet continued still writing and publishing books to his eighty-eighth year.* He was Pompey's lieutenant in Spain, in the beginning of the war: but after the defeat of Afranius and Petreius, quitted his arms, and retired to his studies; so that his present circumstances were not very different from those of Cicero; who, in all his letters to him, bewails, with great freedom, the utter ruin of the state; and proposes that they should live together in a strict communication of studies, and avoid, at least, the sight, if not the tongues of men; yet so, that, if their new masters should call for their help towards settling the Republic, they should run with pleasure, and assist, not only as architects, but even as masons, to build it up again: or if nobody would employ them, should write and read the best forms of government, and as the learned ancients had done before them, serve their country, if not in the senate and Forum, yet by their books and studies, and by composing treatises of morals and laws.†

In this retreat, he wrote his book of Oratorial Partitions, or the art of ordering and distributing the parts of an oration, so as to adapt them in the best manner to their proper end, of moving and persuading an audience. It was written for the instruction of his son, now about eighteen years old, but seems to have been the rude draught only of what he intended, or not to have been finished, at least to his satisfaction; since we find no mention of it in any of

* Nisi M. Varronem scirem octogesimo octavo vitæ anno prodidisse, &c. Plin. Hist. 29. 4.

† Non deesse si quis adhibere volet, non modo ut Architectos, verum etiam ut fabros, ad ædificandam Rempub. et potius libenter accurrere; si nemo utetur opera, tamen et scribere et legere πολιτείας; et si minus in curia atque in foro, at in litteris et libris, ut doctissimi veteres fecerunt, navare Rempub. et de moribus et legibus quærere. Mihi hæc videntur. Ep. Fam. 9. 2.

his letters, as of all his other pieces which were prepared for the public.

Another fruit of this leisure was his dialogue on famous orators, called Brutus, in which he gives a short character of all who had ever flourished, either in Greece or Rome, with any reputation of eloquence down to his own times; and as he generally touches the principal points of each man's life, so an attentive reader may find in it an epitome, as it were, of the Roman history. The conference is supposed to be held with Brutus and Atticus, in Cicero's garden at Rome, under the statue of Plato,* whom he always admired, and usually imitated in the manner of his dialogues; and in this seems to have copied from him the very form of his double title; Brutus, or of Famous Orators; taken from the speaker and the subject, as in Plato's piece, called Phædon, or of the Soul. This work was intended as a supplement, or a fourth book to the three which he had before published on the complete orator. But though it was prepared and finished at this time, while Cato was living, as it is intimated in some parts of it, yet, as it appears from the preface, it was not made public till the year following, after the death of his daughter Tullia.

As, at the opening of the war, we found Cicero in debt to Cæsar, so now we meet with several hints, in his letters, of Cæsar's being indebted to him. It arose, probably, from a mortgage that Cicero had upon the confiscated estate of some Pompeian, which Cæsar had seized; but of what kind soever it was, Cicero was in pain for his money; he saw but three ways, he says, of getting it; by purchasing the estate at Cæsar's auction, or taking an assignment on the purchaser, or compounding for half with the brokers or money-jobbers of those times, who would advance the money on those terms. The first he

* Cum idem placuisset illis, tum in pratulo, propter Platonis Statuano consedimus. Brut. 28.

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declares to be base, and that he would rather lose his debt, than touch any thing confiscated: the second he thought hazardous, and that nobody would pay any thing in such uncertain times: the third he liked the best, but desires Atticus's advice upon it.*

He now at last parted with his wife Terentia, whose humour and conduct had long been uneasy to him; this drew upon him some censure, for putting away a wife, who had lived with him above thirty years, the faithful partner of his bed and fortunes, and the mother of two children, extremely dear to him. But she was a woman of an imperious and turbulent spirit, expensive and negligent in her private affairs, busy and intriguing in the public, and, in the height of her husband's power, seems to have had the chief hand in the distribution of all his favours. He had easily borne her perverseness, in the vigour of health, and the flourishing state of his fortunes; but, in a declining life, soured by a continual succession of mortifications from abroad, the want of ease and quiet at home was no longer tolerable to him; the divorce, however, was not likely to cure the difficulties in which her management had involved him: for she had brought him a great fortune, which was all to be restored to her at parting: this made a second marriage necessary, in order to repair the ill state of his affairs; and his friends, of both sexes, were busy in providing a fit match for him. Several parties were proposed to him, and, among others, a daughter of Pompey the Great, for whom he seems to have had an inclination: but a prudential regard to the times, and the envy and ruin under which that family then lay, induced him, probably, to drop it.† What gave his enemies the greater handle to rally him was, his

* Nomen illud, quod a Cæsare, tres habet conditiones; aut emtionem ab hasta; (perdere malo:—) aut delegationem a mancipe, annua die: (quis erit, cui credam?—) aut Vecteni conditionem, semisse, σχίζαι igitur. Ad Att. 12. 3.

† De Pompeii magni filia tibi rescripsi, nihil me hoc tempore cogitare. Alteram vero illam, quam tu scribis, puto nosti. Nihil vidi fœdius. Ib. 12. 11.

marrying a handsome young woman, named Publilia, of an age disproportioned to his own, to whom he was guardian; but she was well allied and rich: circumstances very convenient to him at this time, as he intimates in a letter to a friend, who congratulated with him on his marriage.

"As to your giving me joy," says he, "for what "I have done, I know you wish it: but I should "not have taken any new step in such wretched "times, if, at my return, I had not found my pri- "vate affairs in no better condition than those of the "Republic. For when, through the wickedness of "those, who, for my infinite kindness to them, "ought to have had the greatest concern for my "welfare, I found no safety or ease from their in- "trigues and perfidy within my own walls, I thought "it necessary to secure myself by the fidelity of "new alliances against the treachery of the old."*

Cæsar returned victorious from Afric, about the end of July, by the way of Sardinia, where he spent some days; upon which Cicero says, pleasantly, in a letter to Varro, he had never seen that farm of his before, which, though one of the worst that he has, he does not yet despise.† The uncertain event of the African war had kept the senate under some reserve; but they now began to push their flattery beyond all the bounds of decency, and decreed more extravagant honours to Cæsar, than were ever given before to man, which Cicero oft rallies with great

* Ep. Fam. 4. 14.

In cases of divorce, where there were children, it was the custom for each party to make a settlement, by will, on their common offspring, proportionable to their several estates: which is the meaning of Cicero's pressing Atticus so often, in his letters, to put Terentia in mind of making her will, and depositing it in safe hands. Ad Att. xi. 21, 22. 24: xii. 18.

Terentia is said to have lived to the age of an hundred and three years; [Val. Max. 8. 13. Plin. Hist. 7. 48.] and took, as St. Jerome says, for her second husband, Cicero's enemy, Sallust; and Messala for her third. Dio Cassius gives her a fourth, Vibius Rufus; who was consul in the reign of Tiberius, and valued himself for the possession of two things, which had belonged to the two greatest men of the age before him, Cicero's wife, and Cæsar's chair, in which he was killed. Dio, p. 612. Hieron. Op. To. 4. par. 2. p. 190.

† Illud enim adhuc prædium suum non inspexit: nec ullum habet deterius, sed tamen non contemnit. Ep. Fam. 9. 7.

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spirit: and, being determined to bear no part in that servile adulation, was treating about the purchase of a house at Naples, for a pretence of retiring still farther and oftener from Rome. But his friends, who knew his impatience under their present subjection, and the free way of speaking which he was apt to indulge, were in some pain lest he should forfeit the good graces of Cæsar and his favourites, and provoke them too far by the keenness of his raillery.* They pressed him to accommodate himself to the times, and to use more caution in his discourse, and to reside more at Rome, especially when Cæsar was there, who would interpret the distance and retreat which he affected, as a proof of his aversion to him.

But his answers, on this occasion, will shew the real state of his sentiments and conduct towards Cæsar, as well as of Cæsar's towards him. Writing on this subject to Papirius Pætus, he says, "You "are of opinion, I perceive, that it will not be al- "lowed to me, as I thought it might be, to quit "these affairs of the city; you tell me of Catulus, "and those times; but what similitude have they to "these? I myself was unwilling, at that time, to "stir from the guard of the state; for I then sat at "the helm, and held the rudder, but am now scarce "thought worthy to work at the pump: would the "senate, think you, pass fewer decrees, if I should

* Some of his jests on Cæsar's administration are still preserved; which shew, that his friends had reason enough to admonish him to be more upon his guard. Cæsar had advanced Liberius, a celebrated mimic actor, to the order of knights; but when he stepped from the stage into the theatre, to take his place on the equestrian benches, none of the knights would admit him to a seat among them. As he was marching off, therefore, with disgrace, happening to pass near Cicero, "I would make "room for you here," says Cicero, "on our bench, if we were not already too much "crowded;" alluding to Cæsar's filling up the senate also with the scum of his creatures, and even with strangers and barbarians. At another time, being desired by a friend, in a public company, to procure for his son the rank of a senator, in one of the corporate towns of Italy, "He shall have it," says he, "if you please, at Rome, "but it will be difficult at Pompeii." An acquaintance, likewise, from Laodicea, coming to pay his respects to him, and being asked what business had brought him to Rome, said, that he was sent upon an embassy to Cæsar, to intercede with him for the liberty of his country; upon which Cicero replied, "If you succeed, you shall "be an ambassador also for us." Macrob. Saturn. 2, 3. Sueton. c. 76.

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"live at Naples? While I am still at Rome, and "attend the Forum, their decrees are all drawn at "our friend's house; and, whenever it comes into "his head, my name is set down, as if present at "drawing them; so that I hear from Armenia and "Syria of decrees, said to be made at my motion, "of which I had never heard a syllable at home. "Do not take me to be in jest; for I assure you that "I have received letters from kings, from the re-"motest parts of the earth, to thank me for giving "them the title of king; when, so far from know-"ing that any such title had been decreed to them, "I knew not even that there were any such men in "being. What is then to be done? why, as long as "our master of manners continues here, I will fol-"low your advice; but as soon as he is gone, I will "run away to your mushrooms," &c.*

In another letter, "since you express," says he, "such a concern for me in your last, be assured, "my dear Pætus, that whatever can be done by art, "(for it is not enough to act with prudence, some "artifice also must now be employed,) yet, what-"ever, I say, can be done by art, towards acquiring "their good graces, I have already done it with the "greatest care; nor, as I believe, without success: "for I am so much courted by all, who are in "any degree of favour with Cæsar, that I begin to "fancy that they love me: and though real love is "not easily distinguished from false, except in the "case of danger, by which the sincerity of it may "be tried, as of gold by fire; for all other marks "are common to both; yet I have one argument to "persuade me that they really love me; because "both my condition and theirs is such, as puts them "under no temptation to dissemble; and as for him, "who has all power, I see no reason to fear any "thing, unless that all things become of course un-

* Ep. Fam. 9. 15. Præfectus morum, or master of the public manners, was one of the new titles which the senate had decreed to Cæsar.

" certain, when justice and right are once deserted;
" nor can we be sure of any thing that depends on
" the will, not to say the passion of another. Yet I
" have not, in any instance, particularly offended
" him, but behaved myself all along with the great-
" est moderation: for, as once I took it to be my
" duty to speak my mind freely in that city, which
" owed its freedom to me; so now, since that is lost,
" to speak nothing that may offend him, or his prin-
" cipal friends: but if I would avoid all offence, of
" things said facetiously, or by way of raillery, I
" must give up all reputation of wit; which I would
" not refuse to do, if I could. But as to Cæsar
" himself, he has a very piercing judgment; and as
" your brother Servius, whom I take to have been
" an excellent critic, would readily say, 'this verse
" is not Plautus's, that verse is;' having formed his
" ears, by great use, to distinguish the peculiar style
" and manner of different poets, so Cæsar, I hear,
" who has already collected some volumes of apo-
" thegms, if any thing be brought to him for mine,
" which is not so, presently rejects it: which he
" now does the more easily, because his friends live
" almost continually with me; and in the variety of
" discourse, when any thing drops from me, which
" they take to have some humour or spirit in it, they
" carry it always to him, with the other news of the
" town, for such are his orders: so that if he hears
" any thing besides of mine, from other persons, he
" does not regard it. I have no occasion, therefore,
" for your example of Ænomaus, though aptly ap-
" plied from Accius: for what is the envy which you
" speak of? or what is there in me to be envied now?
" but suppose there was every thing: it has been the
" constant opinion of philosophers, the only men, in
" my judgment, who have a right notion of virtue,
" that a wise man has nothing more to answer for,
" than to keep himself free from guilt; of which I
" take myself to be clear, on a double account; be-

"cause I both pursued those measures which were "the justest, and when I saw that I had not strength "enough to carry them, did not think it my business "to contend by force with those who were too "strong for me. It is certain, therefore, that I cannot be blamed, in what concerns the part of a good "citizen: all that is now left, is not to say or do "any thing foolishly and rashly against the men in "power; which I take also to be the part of a wise "man. As for the rest, what people may report to "be said by me, or how he may take it, or with "what sincerity those live with me, who now so assiduously court me, it is not in my power to answer. I comfort myself, therefore, with the consciousness of my former conduct, and the moderation of my present; and shall apply your simi"litude from Accius, not only to the case of envy, "but of fortune, which I consider as light and weak, "and what ought to be repelled by a firm and great "mind, as waves by a rock. For since the Greek "history is full of examples, how the wisest men "have endured tyrannies at Athens or Syracuse; "and, when their cities were enslaved, have lived "themselves in some measure free, why may not I "think it possible to maintain my rank so, as neither "to offend the mind of any, nor hurt my own dignity?"* &c.

Pætus having heard, that Cæsar was going to divide some lands in his neighbourhood to the soldiers, began to be afraid for his own estate, and writes to Cicero, to know how far that distribution would extend: to which Cicero answers, "Are not you a "pleasant fellow, who, when Balbus has just been "with you, ask me what will become of those towns "and their lands? as if either I knew any thing that "Balbus does not; or if at any time I chance to "know any thing, I do not know it from him: nay, "it is your part, rather, if you love me, to let me

* Ep. Fam. 9. 16.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coss.—C. Julius Cæsar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

" know what will become of me: for you had it in " your power to have learnt it from him, either so- " ber, or at least when drunk. But as for me, my " dear Pætus, I have done inquiring about those " things: first, because we have already lived near " four years by clear gain, as it were; if that can be " called gain, or this life, to outlive the Republic: " secondly, because I myself seem to know what " will happen; for it will be whatever pleases the " strongest; which must always be decided by arms: " it is our part, therefore, to be content with what " is allowed to us: he who cannot submit to this, " ought to have chosen death. They are now mea- " suring the fields of Veiæ and Capenæ: this is not " far from Tusculum: yet I fear nothing: I enjoy " it whilst I may; wish that I always may; but if it " should happen otherwise, yet, since, with all my " courage and philosophy, I have thought it best to " live, I cannot but have an affection for him by " whose benefit I hold that life: who, if he has an " inclination to restore the Republic, as he himself, " perhaps, may desire, and we all ought to wish, " yet he has linked himself so with others, that he " has not the power to do what he would. But I " proceed too far; for I am writing to you: be as- " sured, however, of this, that not only I, who have " no part in their councils, but even the chief, him- " self, does not know what will happen. We are " slaves to him, he to the times: so neither can he " know what the times will require, nor we what " he may intend,"* &c.

The chiefs of the Cæsarian party, who courted Cicero so much at this time, were Balbus, Oppius, Matius, Pansa, Hirtius, Dolabella: they were all in the first confidence with Cæsar, yet professed the utmost affection for Cicero; were every morning at his levee, and perpetually engaging him to sup with them; and the two last employed themselves in a

* Ep. Fam. 9. 17.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coss.—C. Julius Cæsar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

daily exercise of declaiming at his house, for the benefit of his instruction; of which he gives the following account, in his familiar way, to Pætus:—"Hirtius and Dolabella are my scholars in speaking; my masters in eating: for you have heard, I guess, how they declaim with me, I sup with them." In another letter he tells him, that as king Dionysius, when driven out of Syracuse, turned schoolmaster at Corinth, so he, having lost his kingdom of the Forum, had now opened a school—to which he merrily invites Pætus, with the offer of a seat and cushion next to himself, as his usher.* But to Varro, more seriously, "I acquainted you," says he, "before, that I am intimate with them all, and assist at their councils: I see no reason why I should not—for it is not the same thing to bear what must be borne, and to approve what ought not to be approved." And, again: "I do not forbear to sup with those who now rule: what can I do? we must comply with the times."†

The only use which he made of all this favour was, to screen himself from any particular calamity in the general misery of the times, and to serve those unhappy men, who were driven from their country and their families, for their adherence to that cause, which he himself had espoused. Cæsar was desirous, indeed, to engage him in his measures, and attach him insensibly to his interests: but he would bear no part in an administration, established on the ruins of his country; nor ever cared to be acquainted with their affairs, or to inquire what they were doing: so that, whenever he entered into

* Hirtium ego et Dolabellam dicendi discipulos habeo, cœnandi magistros: puto enim te audisse—illos apud me declamitare, me apud eos cœnitare. Ib. 16.

Ut Dionysius Tyrannus, cum Syracusis pulsus esset, Corinthi dicitur ludum aperuisse, sic ego—amisso regno forensi, ludum quasi habere cœperim—sella tibi erit in ludo, tanquam hypodidasculo, proxima: eam pulvinus sequetur. Ib. 18.

† Ostentavi tibi, me istis esse familiarem, et consiliis eorum interesse. Quod ego cur nolim nihil video. Non enim est idem, ferre si quid ferendum est, et probare, si quid probandum non est. Ib. 6.

Non desino apud istos, qui nunc dominantur, cœnitare. Quid faciam? tempori serviendum est. Ib. 7.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coss.—C. Julius Cæsar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

their councils, as he signifies above to Varro, it was only when the case of some exiled friend required it, for whose service he scrupled no pains of soliciting, and attending even Cæsar himself; though he was sometimes shocked, as he complains, by the difficulty of access, and the indignity of waiting in an antichamber; not, indeed, through Cæsar's fault, who was always ready to give him audience, but from the multiplicity of his affairs, by whose hands all the favours of the empire were dispensed.* Thus, in a letter to Ampius, whose pardon he had procured, "I have solicited your cause," says he, "more "eagerly than my present situation would well jus- "tify: for my desire to see you, and my constant "love for you, most assiduously cultivated on your "part, overruled all regard to the present weak con- "dition of my power and interest. Every thing that "relates to your return and safety is promised, con- "firmed, fixed, and ratified: I saw, knew, was pre- "sent at every step: for, by good luck, I have all "Cæsar's friends engaged to me by an old acquaint- "ance and friendship; so that, next to him, they "pay the first regard to me. Pansa, Hirtius, Balbus, "Oppius, Matius, Postumius, take all occasions to "give me proof of their singular affection. If this "had been sought and procured by me, I should "have no reason, as things now stand, to repent of "my pains: but I have done nothing with the view "of serving the times; I had an intimacy of long "standing with them all; and never gave over soli- "citing them on your behalf: I found Pansa, how- "ever, the readiest of them all to serve you, and "oblige me; who has not only an interest, but au- "thority with Cæsar,"† &c.

But while he was thus caressed by Cæsar's friends, he was not less followed, we may imagine, by the

* Quod si tardius fit quam volumus, magnis occupationibus ejus, a quo omnia petuntur, aditus ad eum difficiliores fuerunt. Ep. Fam. 6. 13.

† Ib. 6. 12.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coss.—C. Julius Cæsar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

friends of the Republic: these had always looked upon him as the chief patron of their liberty, whose counsels, if they had been followed, would have preserved it, and whose authority gave them the only hopes that were left, of recovering it: so that his house was as much frequented, and his levee as much crowded, as ever; since people now flocked, he says, to see a good citizen, as a sort of rarity.* In another letter, giving a short account of his way of life, he says, "Early in the morning, I receive the "compliments of many honest men, but melancholy "ones, as well as of these gay conquerors; who "shew indeed a very officious and affectionate re- "gard to me. When these visits are over, I shut "myself up in my library, either to write or read: "here some, also, come to hear me, as a man of "learning, because I am somewhat more learned "than they: the rest of my time I give to the care "of my body; for I have now bewailed my country "longer, and more heavily, than any mother ever "bewailed her only son."†

It is certain, that there was not a man in the Republic so particularly engaged, both by principle and interest, to wish well to its liberty, or who had so much to lose by the subversion of it as he: for, as long as it was governed by civil methods, and stood upon the foundation of its laws, he was, undoubtedly, the first citizen in it; had the chief influence in the senate; the chief authority with the people: and, as all his hopes and fortunes were grounded on the peace of his country, so all his labours and studies were perpetually applied to the

* Cum salutationi nos dedimus amicorum: quæ fit hoc etiam frequentius, quam solebat, quod quasi avem albam, videntur bene sentientem civem videre, abdo me in Bibliothecam. Ib. 7. 28.

† Hæc igitur est nunc vita nostra. Mane salutamus domi et bonos viros multos, sed tristes, et hos lætos victores; qui me quidem perofficiose et peramanter observant. Ubi salutatio defluxit, litteris me involvo, aut scribo aut lego. Veniunt etiam qui me audiunt, quasi doctum hominem, quia paullo sum, quam ipsi, doctior. Inde corpori omne tempus datur. Patriam eluxi jam gravius et diutius quam ulla mater unicum filium. Ep. Fam. 9. 20.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Cos.—C. Julius Cæsar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

promotion of it: it is no wonder, therefore, in the present situation of the city, oppressed by arms, and a tyrannical power, to find him so particularly impatient under the common misery, and expressing so keen a sense of the diminution of his dignity, and the disgrace of serving, where he had been used to govern.

Cæsar, on the other hand, though he knew his temper and principles to be irreconcileable to his usurped dominion, yet, out of friendship to the man, and a reverence for his character, was determined to treat him with the greatest humanity; and, by all the marks of public favour, to make his life not only tolerable, but easy to him: yet, all that he could do, had no other effect on Cicero, than to make him think and speak sometimes favourably of the natural clemency of their master; and to entertain some hopes from it, that he would one day be persuaded to restore the public liberty: but, exclusive of that hope, he never mentions his government, but as a real tyranny; or his person, in any other style, than as the oppressor of his country.

But he gave a remarkable proof, at this time, of his being no temporiser, by writing a book in praise of Cato; which he published within a few months after Cato's death. He seems to have been left a guardian to Cato's son; as he was also to young Lucullus, Cato's nephew:* and this testimony of Cato's friendship and judgment of him, might induce him the more readily to pay his honour to his memory. It was a matter, however, of no small deliberation, in what manner he ought to treat the subject; his friends advised him not to be too explicit and particular, in the detail of Cato's praises; but to content himself with a general encomium, for fear of irritating Cæsar, by pushing the

* Ad Att. xiii. 6. De Fin. 3. 2.

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argument too far. In a letter to Atticus, he calls this "an Archimedean problem; but I cannot hit "upon any thing," says he, "that those friends of "your's will read with pleasure, or even with pa-"tience; besides, if I should drop the account of "Cato's votes and speeches in the senate, and of "his political conduct in the state, and give a slight "commendation only of his constancy and gravity, "even this may be more than they will care to hear: "but the man cannot be praised, as he deserves, "unless it be particularly explained, how he fore-"told all that has happened to us; how he took "arms to prevent its happening; and parted with "life rather than see it happen."* These were the topics, which he resolved to display with all his force; and from the accounts given of the work by antiquity, it appears, that he had spared no pains to adorn it, but extolled Cato's virtue and character to the skies.†

The book was soon spread into all hands; and Cæsar, instead of expressing any resentment, affected to be much pleased with it; yet declared, that he would answer it: and Hirtius, in the meanwhile, drew up a little piece in the form of a letter to Cicero, filled with objections to Cato's character, but with high compliments to Cicero himself, which Cicero took care to make public, and calls it a specimen of what Cæsar's work was like to be.‡ Brutus also composed and published a piece on the same subject; as well as another friend of Cicero,

* Sed de Catone προβλημα ἀρχιμήδειον est. Non assequor ut scribam, quod tui convivæ non modo libenter, sed etiam æquo animo legere possint. Quin etiam si a sententiis ejus dictis, si ab omni voluntate, consiliisque quæ de Repub. habuit, recedam; ψιλὸς que velim gravitatem constantiamque ejus laudare, hoc ipsum ἄκουσμα sit. Sed vere laudari ille vir non potest, nisi hæc ornata sint, quod ille ea, quæ nunc sunt, et futura viderit, et ne fierent contenderit, et facta ne videret, vitam reliquerit. Ad Att. 12. 4.

† M. Ciceronis libro, quo Catonem cœlo æquavit, &c. Tacit. Ann. 4. 34.

‡ Qualis futura sit Cæsaris vituperatio contra laudationem meam perspexi ex eo libro, quem Hirtius ad me misit, in quo colligit vitia Catonis, sed cum maximis laudibus meis. Itaque misi librum ad Muscam, ut tuis librariis daret. Volo eum divulgari, &c. Ad Att. 12. 40. it. 41.

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Fabius Gallus:* but these were but little considered in comparison of Cicero's: and Brutus had made some mistakes in his account of the transactions, in which Cato had been concerned, especially in the debates on Catiline's plot; in which he had given him the first part and merit, in derogation even of Cicero himself.†

Cæsar's answer was not published till the next year, upon his return from Spain, after the defeat of Pompey's sons. It was a laboured invective; answering Cicero's book, paragraph by paragraph, and accusing Cato with all the art and force of his rhetoric, as if in a public trial before judges:‡ yet with expressions of great respect towards Cicero; whom for his virtues and abilities, he compared to Pericles and Theramenes of Athens:§ and in a letter upon it to Balbus, which was shewn, by his order, to Cicero, he said, that by the frequent reading of Cicero's Cato, he was grown more copious; but, after he had read Brutus's, thought himself even eloquent.‖

These two rival pieces were much celebrated in Rome; and had their several admirers, as different parties and interests disposed men to favour the subject of the author of each: and it is certain, that they were the principal cause of establishing and propagating that veneration, which posterity has since paid to the memory of Cato. For his name being thrown into controversy, in that critical period of the fate of Rome, by the patron of liberty on

* Catonem tuum mihi mitte. Cupio enim legere. Ep. Fam. 7. 24.

† Catonem primum sententiam putat de animadversione dixisse, quam omnes ante dixerant præter Cæsarem, &c. Ad Att. 12. 21.

From this and other particulars, which are mentioned in the same letter, we may observe, that Sallust had probably taken his account of the debates upon Catiline's Accomplices, from Brutus's Life of Cato, and chosen to copy even his mistakes, rather than do justice to Cicero on that occasion.

‡ Ciceronis libro—quid aliud Dictator Cæsar, quam rescripta oratione, velut apud judices respondit? Tacit. Ann. 4. 34. it. Quintil. 8. 7.

§ Plut. in Cic.

‖ Legi epistolam: multa de meo Catone, quo sæpissime legendo se dicit copiosiorem factum; Bruti Catone lecto, se sibi visum disertum. Ad Att. 13. 46.

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the one side, and the oppressor of it on the other, became, of course, a kind of political test to all succeeding ages, and a perpetual argument of dispute between the friends of liberty, and the flatterers of power. But if we consider his character without prejudice, he was certainly a great and worthy man: a friend to truth, virtue, liberty; yet falsely measuring all duty by the absurd rigour of the stoical rule, he was generally disappointed of the end, which he sought by it, the happiness both of his private and public life. In his private conduct, he was severe, morose, inexorable; banishing all the softer affections, as natural enemies to justice, and as suggesting false motives of acting, from favour, clemency, and compassion; in public affairs he was the same; had but one rule of policy, to adhere to what was right: without regard to times or circumstances, or even to a force that could control him: for instead of managing the power of the great, so as to mitigate the ill, or extract any good from it, he was urging it always to acts of violence by a perpetual defiance; so that, with the best intentions in the world, he often did great harm to the Republic. This was his general behaviour; yet, from some particular facts explained above, it appears, that his strength of mind was not always impregnable, but had its weak places of pride, ambition, and party zeal; which, when managed and flattered to a certain point, would betray him sometimes into measures, contrary to his ordinary rule of right and truth. The last act of his life was agreeable to his nature and philosophy: when he could no longer be what he had been, or when the ills of life overbalanced the good, which by the principles of his sect was a just cause for dying,* he put

* In quo enim plura sunt, quæ secundum naturam sunt, hujus officium est in vita manere: in quo autem aut sunt plura contraria aut fore videntur, hujus officium est e vita excedere. De Fin. 3. 18.

Vetus est enim; ubi non sis, qui fueris, non esse cur velis vivere. Ep. Fam. 7. 3.

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an end to his life, with a spirit and resolution which would make one imagine that he was glad to have found an occasion of dying in his proper character. On the whole, his life was rather admirable than amiable; fit to be praised rather than imitated.*

As soon as Cicero had published his Cato, he wrote his piece called the Orator, at the request of Brutus; containing the plan or delineation of what he himself esteemed the most perfect eloquence or manner of speaking. He calls it the fifth part or book, designed to complete the argument of his Brutus, and the other three, on the same subject. It was received with great approbation; and, in a letter to Lepta, who had complimented him upon it, he declares, that whatever judgment he had in speaking, he had thrown it all into that work, and was content to risk his reputation on the merit of it.†

He now likewise spoke that famous speech of thanks to Cæsar, for the pardon of M. Marcellus; which was granted upon the intercession of the senate. Cicero had a particular friendship with all the family of the Marcelli, but especially with this Marcus; who, from the defeat of Pompey, at Pharsalia, retired to Mitylene in Lesbos, where he lived with so much ease and satisfaction to himself in a philosophical retreat, that Cicero, as it appears from his letters, was forced to use all his art and authority to persuade him to return, and take the benefit of that grace, which they had been labouring to attain for him.‡ But how the affair was transact-

* Cato sic abiit e vita, ut causam moriendi nactum se esse gauderet.—cum vero causam justam Deus ipse dederit, ut tunc Socrati nunc Catoni, &c. Tusc. Quæst. 1. 30.

Catoni—moriundum potius, quam Tyranni vultus adspiciendus fuit. De Offic. 1. 31.

Non immaturus decessit: vixit enim, quantum debuit vivere. Senec. Consol. ad Marc. 20.

† Ita tres erunt de oratore: quartus Brutus; quintus, orator. De Div. 2. 1.

Oratorem meum tantopere a te probari, vehementer gaudeo: mihi quidem sic persuadeo, me quicquid habuerim judicii in dicendo, in illum librum contulisse. Ep. Fam. 6. 18.

‡ Ep. Fam. 4. 7, 8, 9.

ed, we may learn from Cicero's account of it to Serv. Sulpicius, who was then proconsul of Greece—"Your condition," says he, "is better than our's, in "this particular, that you dare venture to write your "grievances, we cannot even do that with safety: "not through any fault of the conqueror, than whom "nothing can be more moderate, but of victory it- "self, which, in civil wars, is always insolent: we "have had the advantage of you, however, in one "thing; in being acquainted, a little sooner than "you, with the pardon of your colleague Marcellus: "or rather indeed, in seeing how the whole affair "passed; for I would have you believe, that, from "the beginning of these miseries, or ever since the "public right has been decided by arms, there has "nothing been done, besides this, with any dignity. "For Cæsar himself, after having complained of the "moroseness of Marcellus, for so he called it, and "praised, in the strongest terms, the equity and "prudence of your conduct, presently declared, be- "yond all our hopes, that whatever offence he "had received from the man, he could refuse no- "thing to the intercession of the senate. What the "senate did was this: upon the mention of Marcel- "lus, by Piso, his brother Caius having thrown him- "self at Cæsar's feet, they all rose up, and went for- "ward, in a supplicating manner, towards Cæsar: "in short, this day's work appeared to me so decent, "that I could not help fancying that I saw the image "of the old Republic reviving: when all, therefore, "who were asked their opinions before me, had re- "turned thanks to Cæsar, excepting Volcatius, (for "he declared, that he would not have done it, "though he had been in Marcellus's place,) I, as "soon as I was called upon, changed my mind; for "I had resolved with myself to observe an eternal "silence, not through any laziness, but the loss of "my former dignity; but Cæsar's greatness of mind, "and the laudable zeal of the senate, got the better

"of my resolution. I gave thanks, therefore, to "Cæsar, in a long speech, and have deprived my- "self by it, I fear, on other occasions, of that honest "quiet, which was my only comfort in these un- "happy times: but since I have hitherto avoided "giving him offence, and if I had always continued "silent, he would have interpreted it, perhaps, as a "proof of my taking the Republic to be ruined, "I shall speak for the future not often, or rather, "very seldom; so as to manage, at the same time, "both his favour, and my own leisure for study."*

Cæsar, though he saw the senate unanimous in their petition for Marcellus, yet took the pains to call for the particular opinion of every senator upon it: a method never practised, except in cases of debate, and where the house was divided: but he wanted the usual tribute of flattery upon this act of grace, and had a mind, probably, to make an experiment of Cicero's temper, and to draw from him especially some incense on the occasion; nor was he disappointed of his aim; for Cicero, touched by his generosity, and greatly pleased with the act itself, on the account of his friend, returned thanks to him in a speech, which, though made upon the spot, yet, for elegance of diction, vivacity of sentiment, and politeness of compliment, is superior to any thing extant of the kind in all antiquity. The many fine things which are said in it of Cæsar have given some handle, indeed, for a charge of insincerity against Cicero; but it must be remembered, that he was delivering a speech of thanks, not only for himself, but in the name and at the desire of the senate, where his subject naturally required the embellishments of oratory; and that all his compliments are grounded on a supposition, that Cæsar intended to restore the Republic: of which he entertained no small hopes at this time, as he signifies in a letter to one of Cæsar's

* Ep. Fam. 4.

principal friends. This, therefore, he recommends, enforces, and requires from him in his speech, with the spirit of an old Roman; and no reasonable man will think it strange, that so free an address to a conqueror, in the height of all his power, should want to be tempered with some few strokes of flattery. But the following passage from the oration itself will justify the truth of what I am saying.

"If this," says he, "Cæsar, was to be the end of "your immortal acts, that, after conquering all your "enemies, you should leave the Republic in the con- "dition in which it now is; consider, I beseech you, "whether your divine virtue would not excite rather "an admiration of you, than any real glory; for glory "is the illustrious fame of many and great services, "either to our friends, our country, or to the whole "race of mankind. This part, therefore, still remains: "there is one act more to be performed by you; to "establish the Republic again, that you may reap "the benefit of it yourself in peace and prosperity. "When you have paid this debt to your country, and "fulfilled the ends of your nature by a satiety of liv- "ing, you may then tell us, if you please, that you "have lived long enough: yet what is it, after all, "that we can really call long, of which there is an "end? For, when that end is once come, all past "pleasure is to be reckoned as nothing, since no more "of it is to be expected. Though your mind, I know, "was never content with these narrow bounds of life, "which nature has assigned to us, but inflamed al- "ways with an ardent love of immortality: nor is "this, indeed, to be considered as your life, which is "comprised in this body and breath; but that— "that, I say, is your life, which is to flourish in the "memory of all ages: which posterity will cherish, "and eternity itself propagate. It is to this that you "must attend; to this that you must form yourself;

* Sperare tamen videor, Cæsari, collegæ nostro, fore curæ et esse, ut habeamus aliquam Rempublicam. Ep. Fam. 13. 68.

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" which has many things already to admire, yet " wants something still, that it may praise in you. " Posterity will be amazed to hear and read of your " commands, provinces; the Rhine, the ocean, the " Nile; your innumerable battles, incredible victo- " ries, infinite monuments, splendid triumphs; but, " unless this city be established again by your wis- " dom and counsels, your name indeed will wander " far and wide; yet will have no certain seat or place " at last where to fix itself. There will be also " amongst those, who are yet unborn, the same con- " troversy that has been amongst us; when some " will extol your actions to the skies, others, perhaps, " will find something defective in them; and, that " one thing above all, if you should not extinguish " this flame of civil war, by restoring liberty to your " country: for the one may be looked upon as the " effect of fate, but the other is the certain act of " wisdom. Pay a reverence, therefore, to those " judges, who will pass judgment upon you in ages " to come, and with less partiality, perhaps, than we; " since they will neither be biassed by affection or " party, nor prejudiced by hatred or envy to you: " and though this, as some falsely imagine, should " then have no relation to you, yet it concerns you " certainly, at the present, to act in such a manner, " that no oblivion may ever obscure the lustre of your " praises. Various were the inclinations of the ci- " tizens, and their opinions wholly divided; nor did " we differ only in sentiments and wishes, but in " arms also and camps; the merits of the cause " were dubious, and the contention between two ce- " lebrated leaders: many doubted what was the best; " many what was convenient; many what was de- " cent; some also what was lawful," &c.*

But, though Cæsar took no step towards restoring the Republic, he employed himself this summer in another work of general benefit to mankind, the

* Pro M. Marcell. 8, 9, 10.

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reformation of the kalendar; by accommodating the course of the year to the exact course of the sun; from which it had varied so widely, as to occasion a strange confusion in all their accounts of time.

The Roman year, from the old institution of Numa, was lunar; borrowed from the Greeks; amongst whom it consisted of three hundred and fifty-four days: Numa added one more to them, to make the whole number odd, which was thought the more fortunate; and to fill up the deficiency of his year, to the measure of the solar course, inserted likewise, or intercalated, after the manner of the Greeks, an extraordinary month of twenty-two days, every second year, and twenty-three every fourth, between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth day of February:* he committed the care of intercalating this month, and the supernumerary day, to the college of priests; who, in process of time, partly by a negligent, partly a superstitious, but chiefly by an arbitrary abuse of their trust, used either to drop or insert them, as it was found most convenient to themselves or their friends, to make the current year longer or shorter.† Thus Cicero, when harassed by a perpetual course of pleading, prayed that there might be no intercalation to lengthen his fatigue; and when proconsul of Cilicia, pressed Atticus to exert all his interest, to prevent any intercalation within the year; that it might not protract his government, and retard his return to Rome.‡ Curio, on the contrary, when he could not persuade the priests to prolong the year of his tribunate by an intercalation, made that a pre-

* This was usually called intercalaris, though Plutarch gives it the name of Mercedonius, which none of the Roman writers mention, except that Festus speaks of some days under the title of Mercedoniæ, because the merces or wages of workmen were commonly paid upon them.

† Quod institutum perite a Numa posteriorum Pontificum negligentia dissolutum est. De Leg. 2. 12. vid. Censorin. de die Nat. c. 20. Macrob. Saturn. 1, 14.

‡ Nos hic in multitudine et celebritate judiciorum—ita destinemur, ut quotidie vota faciamus ne intercaletur. Ep. Fam. 7. 2.

Per fortunas primum illud præfulci atque præmuni quæso, ut simus annui; ne intercaletur quidem. Ad Att. 5. 13. it. 9.

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tence for abandoning the senate, and going over to Cæsar.*

This licence of intercalating introduced the confusion abovementioned, in the computation of their time; so that the order of all their months was transposed from their stated seasons; the winter months carried back into autumn, the autumnal into summer: till Cæsar resolved to put an end to this disorder, by abolishing the source of it, the use of intercalations; and, instead of the lunar, to establish the solar year, adjusted to the exact measure of the sun's revolution in the zodiac, or to that period of time in which it returns to the point from which it set out; and as this, according to the astronomers of that age, was supposed to be three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours, so he divided the days into twelve artificial months, and to supply the deficiency of the six hours, by which they fell short of the sun's complete course, he ordered a day to be intercalated after every four years, between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of February.†

But to make this new year begin, and proceed regularly, he was forced to insert into the current year, two extraordinary months, between November and December; the one of thirty-three, the other of thirty-four days; besides the ordinary intercalary month of twenty-three days, which fell into it of course; which were all necessary to fill up the number of days that were lost to the old year, by the omission of intercalations, and to replace the months in their proper seasons.‡ All this was effected by the care and skill of Sosigenes, a celebrated astronomer of Alexandria, whom Cæsar had brought to Rome for

* Levissime enim, quia de intercalando non obtinuerat, transfugit ad populum et pro Cæsare loqui cœpit. Ep. Fam. 8. 6. Dio, p. 148.

† This day was called Bissextus, from its being a repetition or duplicate of the Sixth of the Kalends of March, which fell always on the 24th; and hence our Intercalary or Leap-year is still called Bissextile.

‡ Quo autem magis in posterum ex Kalendis Januariis nobis temporum ratio congrueret, inter Novembrem et Decembrem mensem adjecit duos alios: fuitque is annus—xv. mensium cum Intercalario, qui ex consuetudine eum annum inciderat. Sueton. J. Cæs. 40.

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that purpose;* and a new kalendar was formed upon it by Flavius, a scribe, digested according to the order of the Roman festivals, and the old manner of computing their days by Kalends, Ides, and Nones; which was published and authorized by the dictator's edict, not long after his return from Afric. This year, therefore, was the longest that Rome had ever known, consisting of fifteen months, or four hundred and forty-five days, and is called the last of the confusion,† because it introduced the Julian, or solar year, with the commencement of the ensuing January, which continues in use to this day in all Christian countries, without any other variation than that of the old and new style.‡

Soon after the affair of Marcellus, Cicero had another occasion of trying both his eloquence and interest with Cæsar, in the cause of Ligarius, who was now in exile on the account of his having been in arms against Cæsar, in the African war, in which he had borne a considerable command. His two brothers, however, had always been on Cæsar's side; and being recommended by Pansa, and warmly supported by Cicero, had almost prevailed for his pardon, of which Cicero gives the following account in a letter to Ligarius himself.

"CICERO TO LIGARIUS.

"I WOULD have you to be assured that I employ "my whole pains, labour, care, study, in procuring

* Plin. Hist. N. 18. 25.

† Adnitente sibi M. Flavio scriba, qui scriptos dies singulos ita ad Dictatorem detulit, ut et ordo eorum inveniri facillime posset, et invento certus status perseveraret —eaque re factum est, ut annus confusionis ultimus in quadringentos quadraginta tres dies tenderetur. Macrob. Saturn. 1. 14. Dio, 227.

Macrobius makes this year to consist of 443 days, but he should have said 445, since, according to all accounts, ninety days were added to the old year of 355.

‡ This difference of the old and new style was occasioned by a regulation made by Pope Gregory, A. D. 1582; for it having been observed, that the computation of the Vernal Equinox was fallen back ten days from the time of the council of Nice, when it was found to be on the 21st of March; according to which all the festivals of the church were then solemnly settled; Pope Gregory, by the advice of astronomers, caused ten days to be entirely sunk and thrown out of the current year, between the 4th and 15th of October.

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" your restoration; for as I have ever had the great-
" est affection for you, so the singular piety and love
" of your brothers, for whom, as well as yourself, I
" have always professed the utmost esteem; never
" suffer me to neglect any opportunity of my duty
" and service to you. But what I am now doing, or
" have done, I would have you learn from their let-
" ters, rather than mine; but as to what I hope, and
" take to be certain in your affair, that I chuse to ac-
" quaint you with myself; for if any man be timor-
" ous in great and dangerous events, and fearing al-
" ways the worst, rather than hoping the best, I am
" he; and if this be a fault, confess myself not to be
" free from it; yet, on the twenty-seventh of No-
" vember, when, at the desire of your brothers, I
" had been early with Cæsar, and gone through the
" trouble and indignity of getting access and audi-
" ence, when your brothers and relations had thrown
" themselves at his feet, and I had said what your
" cause and circumstances required, I came away,
" persuaded that your pardon was certain; which I
" collected, not only from Cæsar's discourse, which
" was mild and generous, but from his eyes, and
" looks, and many other signs, which I could better
" observe than describe. It is your part, therefore,
" to behave yourself with firmness and courage; and
" as you have borne the more turbulent part pru-
" dently, to bear this calmer state of things cheer-
" fully: I shall continue still to take the same pains
" in your affairs, as if there was the greatest diffi-
" culty in them, and will heartily supplicate in your
" behalf, as I have hitherto done, not only Cæsar
" himself, but all his friends, whom I have ever found
" most affectionate to me. Adieu."*

While Ligarius's affair was in this hopeful way, Q. Tubero, who had an old quarrel with him, being desirous to obstruct his pardon, and knowing Cæsar

* Ep. Fam. 6. 14.

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to be particularly exasperated against all those who, through an obstinate aversion to him, had renewed the war in Afric, accused him, in the usual forms, of an uncommon zeal and violence in prosecuting that war. Cæsar privately encouraged the prosecution, and ordered the cause to be tried in the Forum, where he sat upon it in person, strongly prepossessed against the criminal, and determined to lay hold on any plausible pretence for condemning him; but the force of Cicero's eloquence, exerted with all his skill, in a cause which he had much at heart, got the better of all his prejudices, and extorted a pardon from him against his will.

The merit of this speech is too well known, to want to be enlarged upon here: those who read it, will find no reason to charge Cicero with flattery: but the free spirit which it breathes, in the face of that power to which it was suing for mercy, must give a great idea of the art of the speaker, who could deliver such bold truths without offence, as well as of the generosity of the judge, who heard them not only with patience, but approbation.

"Observe, Cæsar," says he, "with what fidelity I "plead Ligarius's cause, when I betray even my own "by it. O that admirable clemency, worthy to be "celebrated by every kind of praise, letters, monu- "ments! M. Cicero defends a criminal before you, "by proving him not to have been in those senti- "ments, in which he owns himself to have been: "nor does he yet fear your secret thoughts, or, while "he is pleading for another, what may occur to you "about himself. See, I say, how little he is afraid "of you. See with what a courage and gaiety of "speaking your generosity and wisdom inspire me. "I will raise my voice to such a pitch, that the whole "Roman people may hear me. After the war was "not only begun, Cæsar, but in great measure "finished, when I was driven by no necessity, I went "by choice and judgment to join myself with those

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coss.—C. Julius Cæsar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

" who had taken arms against you. Before whom " do I say this? why before him, who, though he " knew it to be true, yet restored me to the Re- " public, before he had even seen me; who wrote to " me from Egypt, that I should be the same man " that I had always been; and when he was the " only emperor within the dominion of Rome, suf- " fered me to be the other; and to hold my laurelled " fasces, as long as I thought them worth holding.* " Do you then, Tubero, call Ligarius's conduct " wicked? for what reason? since that cause has " never yet been called by that name: some, indeed, " call it mistake; others fear; those who speak " more severely, hope, ambition, hatred, obstinacy; " or, at the worst, rashness; but no man, besides " you, has ever called it wickedness. For my part, " were I to invent a proper and genuine name for " our calamity, I should take it for a kind of fatality " that had possessed the unwary minds of men; so " that none can think it strange, that all human " counsels were overruled by a divine necessity. " Call us then, if you please, unhappy, though we " can never be so, under this conqueror: but I speak " not of us who survive, but of those who fell; let " them be ambitious; let them be angry; let them be " obstinate; but let not the guilt of crime, of fury, of " parricide, ever be charged on Cn. Pompey, and on " many of those who died with him. When did we " ever hear any such thing from you, Cæsar? or " what other view had you in the war, than to de- " fend yourself from injury?—you considered it, " from the first, not as a war, but a secession; not as " an hostile, but civil dissension: where both sides " wished well to the Republic, yet through a dif- " ference, partly of counsels, partly of inclinations, " deviated from the common good; the dignity of " the leaders was almost equal; though not, per- " haps, of those who followed them: the cause was

* Pro Ligar. 3.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coss.—C. Julius Cæsar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

" then dubious, since there was something which " one might approve on either side; but now, that " must needs be thought the best, which the gods " have favoured; and, after the experience of your " clemency, who can be displeased with that vic- " tory, in which no man fell, who was not actually " in arms?"*

This speech was soon made public, and greedily bought by all: Atticus was extremely pleased with it, and very industrious in recommending it; so that Cicero says, merrily, to him by letter, "you have sold " my Ligarian speech finely: whatever I write for " the future, I will make you the publisher:" and again, " your authority, I perceive, has made my " little oration famous: for Balbus and Oppius write " me word, that they are wonderfully taken with it, " and have sent a copy to Cæsar."† The success which it met with, made Tubero ashamed of the figure that he made in it; so that he applied to Cicero, to have something inserted in his favour, with the mention of his wife, and some of his family, who were Cicero's near relations: but Cicero excused himself, because the speech was got abroad: nor had he a mind, he says, to make any apology for Tubero's conduct.‡

Ligarius was a man of distinguished zeal for the liberty of his country: which was the reason both of Cicero's pains to preserve, and of Cæsar's averseness to restore him. After his return, he lived in great confidence with Brutus, who found him a fit person to bear a part in the conspiracy against Cæsar; but, happening to be taken ill near the time of its execution, when Brutus, in a visit to him, began

* Pro Ligar. 6.

† Ligarianam præclare vendidisti. Posthac quicquid scripsero, tibi præconium deferam. Ad Att. 13. 12.

Ligarianam, ut video, præclare auctoritas tua commendavit. Scripsit enim ad me Balbus et Oppius, mirifice se probare, ob eamque causam ad Cæsarem eam se oratiunculam misisse. Ib. 19.

‡ Ad Ligarianam de uxore Tuberonis, et privigna, neque possum jam addere, est enim res pervulgata, neque Tuberonem volo defendere. Mirifice est enim φιλάπτιος. Ib. 20.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coss.—C. Julius Cæsar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

to lament that he was fallen sick in a very unlucky hour, Ligarius, raising himself presently upon his elbow, and taking Brutus by the hand, replied: "Yet still, Brutus, if you mean to do any thing "worthy of yourself, I am well:"* nor did he disappoint Brutus's opinion of him, for we find him afterwards in the list of the conspirators.

In the end of the year, Cæsar was called away in great haste into Spain, to oppose the attempts of Pompey's sons, who, by the credit of their father's name, were become masters again of all that province; and with the remains of the troops, which Labienus, Varus, and the other chiefs, who escaped, had gathered up from Afric, were once more in condition to try the fortune of the field with him: where the great danger to which he was exposed, from this last effort of a broken party, shews how desperate his case must have been, if Pompey himself, with an entire and veteran army, had first made choice of this country for the scene of the war.

Cicero all this while passed his time, with little satisfaction, at home, being disappointed of the ease and comfort which he expected from his new marriage: his children, as we may imagine, while their own mother was living, would not easily bear with a young mother-in-law in the house with them. The son, especially, was pressing to get a particular appointment settled for his maintenance, and to have leave also to go to Spain, and make a campaign under Cæsar, whither his cousin Quintus was already gone. Cicero did not approve this project, and endeavoured by all means to dissuade him from it; representing to him, that it would naturally draw a just reproach upon them, for not thinking it enough to quit their former party, unless they fought against it too; and that he would not be pleased to see his cousin more regarded there than himself; and pro-

* Plut. in Brut.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62.—C. Jul. Cæsar Dict. III. M. Æmilius Lepidus. Mag. Equit.

misingly withal, if he would consent to stay, to make him an ample and honourable allowance.* This diverted him from the thoughts of Spain, though not from the desire of removing from his father, and taking a separate house in the city, with a distinct family of his own: but Cicero thought it best to send him to Athens, in order to spend a few years in the study of philosophy and polite letters; and, to make the proposal agreeable, offered him an appointment, that would enable him to live as splendidly as any of the Roman nobility, who then resided there, Bibulus, Acidinus, or Messala.† This scheme was accepted, and soon after executed; and young Cicero was sent to Athens, with two of his father's freedmen, L. Tullius Montanus, and Tullius Marcianus, as the intendants and counsellors of his general conduct, while the particular direction of his studies was left to the principal philosophers of the place; and, above all, to Cratippus, the chief of the peripatetic sect.‡

In this uneasy state, both of his private and public life, he was oppressed by a new and most cruel affliction, the death of his beloved daughter Tullia; which happened soon after her divorce from Dolabella, whose manners and humour were entirely disagreeable to her. Cicero had long been deliberating with himself and his friends, whether Tullia should not first send the divorce; but a prudential regard to Dolabella's power, and interest with Cæsar, which was of use to him in these times, seems to have

* De Hispania duo attuli; primum idem, quod tibi, me vereri, vituperationem non satis esse si hæc arma reliquissemus? etiam contraria? deinde fore ut angeretur, cum a fratre familiaritate et omni gratia vinceretur. Velim magis liberalitate uti mea quam sua libertate. Ad Att. 12. 7.

† Præstabo nec Bibulum, nec Acidinum, nec Messalam, quos Athenis futuros audio, majores sumptus facturos, quam quod ex eis mercedibus accipietur. Ib. 32.

‡ L. Tullium Montanum nosti, qui cum Cicerone profectus est. Ib. 52, 53. Quanquam te, Marce fili, annum jam audientem Cratippum, &c. De Offic. 1. 1. it. 2. 2.

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withheld him.* The case was the same with Dolabella; he was willing enough to part with Tullia, but did not care to break with Cicero, whose friendship was a credit to him, and whom gratitude obliged him to observe and reverence; since Cicero had twice defended and preserved him in capital causes:† so that it seems most probable, that the divorce was of an amicable kind, and executed at last by the consent of both sides: for it gave no apparent interruption to the friendship between Cicero and Dolabella, which they carried on with the same shew of affection and professions of respect toward each other, as if the relation had still subsisted.

Tullia died in child-bed, at her husband's house;‡ which confirms the probability of their agreement in the divorce: it is certain, at least, that she died in Rome; where Cicero was detained, he says, by the expectation of the birth, and to receive the first payment of her fortune back again from Dolabella, who was then in Spain; she was delivered, as it was thought, very happily, and supposed to be out of danger; when an unexpected turn in her case put an end to her life, to the inexpressible grief of her father.§

We have no account of the issue of this birth, which writers confound with that which happened three years before, when she was delivered, at the end of seven months, of a puny male child: but whether it was from the first, or the second time of her lying-in, it is evident, that she left a son by Do-

* Te oro ut de hac misera cogites—melius quidem in pessimis nihil fuit discidio—nunc quidem ipse videtur denunciare—placet mihi igitur, et idem tibi nuncium remitti, &c. Ad Att. xi. 23. Vid. ib. 3.

Quod scripsi de nuncio remittendo, quæ sit istius vis hoc tempore, et quæ concitatio multitudinis, ignoro. Si metuendus iratus est, quies tamen ab illo fortasse nascetur. Ep. Fam. 14. 13.

† Cujus ego salutem duobus capitis, judiciis summa contentione defendi. Ep. Fam. 3. x.

‡ Plut. in Cic.

§ Me Romæ tenuit omnino Tullia meæ partus: sed cum ea, quemadmodum spero satis firma sit, teneor tamen, dum a Dolabellæ procuratoribus exigam primam pensionem. Ep. Fam. 6. 18.

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labella, who survived her, and whom Cicero mentions more than once, in his letters to Atticus, by the name of Lentulus:* desiring him to visit the child, and see a due care taken of him, and to assign him what number of servants he thought proper.†

Tullia was about two and thirty years old at the time of her death; and, by the few hints which are left of her character, appears to have been an excellent and admirable woman: she was most affectionately and piously observant of her father; and, to the usual graces of her sex, having added the more solid accomplishments of knowledge and polite letters, was qualified to be the companion, as well as the delight of his age; and was justly esteemed not only as one of the best, but the most learned of the Roman ladies. It is not strange, therefore, that the loss of such a daughter, in the prime of her life, and the most comfortless season of his own, should affect him with all that grief which the greatest calamity could imprint on a temper naturally timid and desponding.

Plutarch tells us, that the philosophers came from all parts to comfort him; but that can hardly be true, except of those who lived in Rome, or in his own family; for his first care was, to shun all company as much as he could, by removing to Atticus's house; where he lived chiefly in the library, endeavouring to relieve his mind, by turning over every book which he could meet with, on the subject of

* The father's names were Publius Cornelius Lentulus Dolabella: the two last being surnames, acquired, perhaps, by adoption, and distinguishing the different branches of the Cornelian family.

† Velim aliquando, cum erit tuum commodum, Lentulum puerum visas, eique de mancipiis, quæ tibi videbitur, attribuas. Ad Att. 12. 28.

Quod Letulum invisis, valde gratum. Ib. 30. Vid. etiam 18.

N. B. Mr. Bayle declares himself surprised, to find Asconius Pæd. so ill informed of the history of Tullia, as to tell us, that, after Piso's death, she was married to P. Lentulus, and died in child-bed at his house. In which short account, there are contained, he says, two or three lies. But Plutarch confirms the same account; and the mistake will rest, at last, not on Asconius, but on Mr. Bayle himself, who did not reflect, from the authority of those ancients, that Lentulus was one of Dolabella's names, by which she was called indifferently, as well as by any of the rest. See Bayl. Diction. Artic. Tullia. not. k.

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moderating grief;* but finding his residence here too public, and a greater resort to him than he could bear, he retired to Astura, one of his seats near Antium, a little island on the Latian shore, at the mouth of a river of the same name, covered with woods and groves, cut out into shady walks; a scene of all others, the fittest to indulge melancholy, and where he could give a free course to his grief. "Here," says he, "I live without the speech of "man; every morning early I hide myself in the "thickest of the wood, and never come out till the "evening: next to yourself, nothing is so dear to "me as this solitude: my whole conversation is with "my books; yet that is sometimes interrupted by "my tears, which I resist as well as I can, but am "not yet able to do much."†

Atticus urged him to quit this retirement, and divert himself with business, and the company of his friends; and put him gently in mind, that, by afflicting himself so immoderately, he would hurt his character, and give people a handle to censure his weakness: to which he makes the following answer:

"As to what you write, that you are afraid lest "the excess of my grief should lessen my credit and "authority, I do not know what men would have of "me. Is it, that I should not grieve? that is im-"possible; or that I should not be oppressed with "grief? who was ever less so? When I took refuge "at your house, was any man ever denied access to "me? or did any one ever come, who had reason to "complain of me? I went from you to Astura, "where those gay sparks, who find fault with me, "are not able even to read so much as I have writ-"ten: how well, is nothing to the purpose; yet it is

* Me Mihi non defuisse tu testis es, nihil enim de mœrore minuendo ab ullo scriptum est, quod ego non domi tuæ legerim. Ad Att. 12. 14.

† In hac solitudine careo omnium colloquio, cumque mane in silvam me abstrusi densam et asperam, non exeo inde ante vesperum. Secundum te, nihil mihi amicius solitudine. In ea mihi omnis sermo est cum litteris; eum tamen interpellat fletus; cui repugno quoad possum, sed adhuc pares non sumus. Ib. 15.

"of a kind which nobody could write with a dis-
"ordered mind. I spent a month in my gardens
"about Rome, where I received all who came with
"the same easiness as before. At this very moment,
"while I am employing my whole time in reading
"and writing, those who are with me are more fa-
"tigued with their leisure, than I with my pains. If
"any one asks, why I am not at Rome? because it is
"vacation time; why not in some of my villas, more
"suitable to the season? because I could not easily
"bear so much company. I am where he, who has
"the best house at Baiæ, chooses to be, in this part
"of the year. When I come to Rome, nobody shall
"find any thing amiss, either in my looks or dis-
"course: as to that cheerfulness with which we used
"to season the misery of these times, I have lost it,
"indeed, for ever; but will never part with my con-
"stancy and firmness, either of mind or speech,"* &c.

All his other friends were very officious, likewise, in making their compliments of condolence, and administering arguments of comfort to him: among the rest, Cæsar himself, in the hurry of his affairs in Spain, wrote him a letter on the occasion dated from Hispalis, the last of April.† Brutus wrote another, so friendly and affectionate, that it greatly moved him:‡ Lucceius, also, one of the most esteemed writers of that age, sent him two; the first to condole, the second to expostulate with him for persevering to cherish an unmanly and useless grief:§ but the following letter of Ser. Sulpicius is thought to be a master-piece of the consolatory kind.

"SER. SULPICIUS TO M. T. CICERO.

"I WAS exceedingly concerned, as indeed I ought
"to be, to hear of the death of your daughter Tul-

* Ad Att. 12. 40.

† A Cæsare litteras accepi consolatorias, datas prid. Kal. Maii, Hispali. Ad Att. 13. 20.

‡ Bruti litteræ scriptæ et prudenter et amice, multas tamen mihi lacrimas attulerunt. Ib. 12. 13.

§ Vid. Ep. Fam. 5. 13, 14.

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"lia; which I looked upon as an affliction common "to us both. If I had been with you, I would have "made it my business to convince you what a real "share I take in your grief. Though that kind of "consolation is but wretched and lamentable, as it "is to be performed by friends and relations, who "are overwhelmed with grief, and cannot enter upon "their task without tears, and seem to want comfort "rather themselves, than to be in condition to admi-"nister it to others. I resolved, therefore, to write to "you, in short, what occurred upon it to my own "mind; not that I imagined, that the same things "would not occur also to you, but that the force of "your grief might possibly hinder your attention to "them. What reason is there, then, to disturb your-"self so immoderately on this melancholy occasion? "Consider how fortune has already treated us; how "it has deprived us of what ought to be as dear to "us as children; our country, credit, dignity, ho-"nours. After so miserable a loss as this, what ad-"dition can it possibly make to our grief, to suffer "one misfortune more? or how can a mind, after "being exercised in such trials, not grow callous, "and think every thing else of inferior value? But "is it for your daughter's sake that you grieve? yet "how often must you necessarily reflect, as I myself "frequently do, that those cannot be said to be hard-"ly dealt with, whose lot it has been, in these times, "without suffering any affliction, to exchange life for "death. For what is there, in our present circum-"stances, that could give her any great invitation to "live? what business? what hopes? what prospect of "comfort before her? was it to pass her days in the "married state, with some young man of the first "quality? (for you, I know, on the account of your "dignity, might have chosen what son-in-law you "pleased out of all our youth, to whose fidelity you "might safely have trusted her:) was it then for the "sake of bearing children, whom she might have

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62.—C. Jul. Cæsar Dict. III. M. Æmilius Lepidus. Mag. Equit.

"had the pleasure to see flourishing afterwards, in "the enjoyment of their paternal fortunes, and rising "gradually to all the honours of the state, and using "the liberty, to which they were born, in the pro- "tection of their friends and clients? but what is "there of all this, which was not taken away, before "it was even given to her? But it is an evil, you will "say, to lose our children: it is so; yet it is much "greater to suffer what we now endure. I cannot "help mentioning one thing, which has given me "no small comfort, and may help also, perhaps, to "mitigate your grief. On my return from Asia, "as I was sailing from Ægina towards Megara, I "began to contemplate the prospect of the countries "around me: Ægina was behind, Megara before "me; Piræeus on the right, Corinth on the left; all "which towns, once famous and flourishing, now lie "overturned, and buried in their ruins: upon this "sight I could not but think presently within my- "self, alas! how do we poor mortals fret and vex "ourselves, if any of our friends happen to die, or to "be killed, whose life is yet so short, when the car- "casses of so many noble cities lie here exposed "before me in one view? Why wilt thou not then "command thyself, Servius, and remember that "thou art born a man! Believe me, I was not a lit- "tle confirmed by this contemplation: try the force "of it, therefore, if you please, upon yourself; and "imagine the same prospect before your own eyes. "But to come nearer home: when you consider how "many of our greatest men have perished lately at "once; what destruction has been made in the em- "pire; what havock in all the provinces; how can "you be so much shocked to be deprived of the fleet- "ing breath of one little woman? who, if she had not "died at this time, must necessarily have died a few "years after, since that was the condition of her "being born. But recal your mind from reflections "of this kind, to the consideration of yourself;

" and think rather on what becomes your character " and dignity: that your daughter lived as long as " life was worth enjoying, as long as the Republic " stood; had seen her father prætor, consul, augur; " been married to the noblest of our youth; had " tasted every good in life: and when the Re- " public fell, then quitted it: what ground is there " then, either for you or her, to complain of fortune " on this account? In short, do not forget that you " are Cicero; one who has been used always to " prescribe and give advice to others; nor imitate " those paltry physicians, who pretend to cure " other people's diseases, yet are not able to cure " their own; but suggest rather to yourself the " same lesson, which you would give in the same " case. There is no grief so great which length " of time will not alleviate: but it would be shame- " ful in you to wait for that time, and not to pre- " vent it by your wisdom: besides, if there be any " sense in the dead, such was her love and piety " to you, that she must be concerned to see how " much you afflict yourself. Give this therefore " to the deceased; give it to your friends; give it " to your country; that it may have the benefit of " your assistance and advice, whenever there shall " be occasion. Lastly, since fortune has now made " it necessary to us to accommodate ourselves to our " present situation, do not give any one a handle " to think that you are not so much bewailing your " daughter, as the state of the times, and the victory " of certain persons. I am ashamed to write any " more, lest I should seem to distrust your pru- " dence; and will add, therefore, but one thing far- " ther, and conclude. We have sometimes seen you " bear prosperity nobly, with great honour and ap- " plause to yourself; let us now see that you can " bear adversity with the same moderation, and " without thinking it a greater burthen than you " ought to do: lest, in the number of all your other

" virtues, this one, at last, be thought to be wanting.
" As to myself, when I understand that your mind
" is grown more calm and composed, I will send
" you word how all things go on here, and what is
" the state of the province. Adieu."*

His answer to Sulpicius was the same in effect with what he gave to all his friends; that his case was different from all the examples which he had been collecting for his own imitation, of men who had borne the loss of children with firmness; since they lived in times when their dignity in the state was able, in great measure, to compensate their misfortune: " But for me," says he, " after I had lost
" all those ornaments which you enumerate, and
" which I had acquired with the utmost pains, I
" have now lost the only comfort that was left to me.
" In this ruin of the Republic, my thoughts were
" not diverted by serving either my friends or my
" country; I had no inclination to the Forum; could
" not bear the sight of the senate; took myself, as
" the case in truth was, to have lost all the fruit of
" my industry and fortunes: yet, when I reflected,
" that all this was common to you, and to many
" others, as well as to myself, and was forcing my-
" self therefore to bear it tolerably, I had still, in
" Tullia, somewhat always to recur to, in which
" I could acquiesce; and in whose sweet conver-
" sation I could drop all my cares and troubles:
" but by this last cruel wound, all the rest, which
" seemed to be healed, are broken out again afresh:
" for as I then could relieve the uneasiness which
" the Republic gave me, by what I found at home;
" so I cannot now, in the affliction which I feel at
" home, find any remedy abroad; but am driven, as
" well from my house as the Forum; since neither
" my house can ease my public grief, nor the public
" my domestic one."†

* Ep. Fam. 4. 5.
† Ep. Fam. 4. 6. it. Ad Att. 12. 23.

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The remonstrances of his friends had but little effect upon him; all the relief that he found was from reading and writing, in which he continually employed himself; and did what no man had ever done before him, draw up a treatise of consolation for himself; from which he professes to have received his greatest comfort; though he wrote it, he owns, at a time when, in the opinion of the philosophers, he was not so wise as he ought to have been: "But I did violence," says he, "to my nature; "to make the greatness of my sorrow give place to "the greatness of the medicine: though I acted "against the advice of Chrysippus, who dissuades "the application of any remedy to the first assaults "of grief."* In this work he chiefly imitated Crantor, the academic, who had left a celebrated piece on the same subject; yet he inserted also whatever pleased him, from any other author who had written upon it;† illustrating his precepts, all the way, by examples from their own history, of the most eminent Romans of both sexes, who had borne the same misfortune with a remarkable constancy. This book was much read by the primitive fathers, especially Lactantius, to whom we are obliged for the few fragments which remain of it: for as the critics have long since observed, that piece, which we now see in the collection of his writings under the title of Consolation, is undoubtedly spurious.

But the design of this treatise was, not only to relieve his own mind, but to consecrate the virtues

* Feci, quod ante me nemo, ut ipse me per litteras consolarer—affirmo tibi nullam consolationem esse talem. Ad Att. 12. 14. it. ib. 28.

Quid ego de consolatione dicam? quæ mihi quidem ipsi sane aliquantum medetur, ceteris item multum illam profuturam puto. De Divin. 2. 1.

In consolationis libro, quem in medio, (non enim sapientes eramus) mœrore et dolore conscripsimus: quodque vetat Chrysippus, ad recentes quasi tumores animi remedium adhibere, id nos fecimus, naturæque vim adtulimus, ut magnitudini medicinæ doloris magnitudo concederet. Tusc. Disp. 4. 29.

† Crantorem sequor. Plin Præf. Hist. N.

Neque tamen progredior longius, quam mihi doctissimi homines concedunt, quorum scripta omnia, quæcunque sunt in eam sententiam non legi solum—sed in mea etiam scripta transtuli. Ad Att. 12. 21. it. 22.

and memory of Tullia to all posterity: nor did his fondness for her stop here; but suggested the project of a more effectual consecration, by building a temple to her, and erecting her into a sort of deity. It was an opinion of the philosophers, which he himself constantly favoured, and, in his present circumstances, particularly indulged, that the souls of men were of heavenly extraction, and that the pure and chaste, at their dissolution from the body, returned to the fountain from which they were derived, to subsist eternally in the fruition and participation of the Divine Nature; whilst the impure and corrupt were left to grovel below in the dirt and darkness of these inferior regions. He declares, therefore, that as the wisdom of the ancients had consecrated and deified many excellent persons of both sexes, whose temples were then remaining; the progeny of Cadmus, of Amphitryon, of Tyndarus; so he would perform the same honour to Tullia; who, if any creature had ever deserved it, was of all the most worthy of it. "I will do it, therefore," says he, "and consecrate thee, thou best and most learned "of women, now admitted into the assembly of the "gods, to the regard and veneration of all mor-"tals."*

In his letters to Atticus we find the strongest expressions of his resolution and impatience to see this design executed: "I will have a temple," says

* Non enim omnibus illi sapientes arbitrati sunt eundem cursum in cœlum patere. Nam vitiis et sceleribus contaminatos deprimi in tenebras, atque in cœno jacere docuerunt; castos autem animos, puros, integros, incorruptos, bonis etiam studiis atque artibus expolitos leni quodam ac facili lapsu ad deos, id est, ad naturam sui similem pervolare—Fragm. Consolat. ex Lactantio—

Cum vero et mares et fœminas complures ex hominibus in deorum numero esse videamus et eorum in urbibus atque agris augustissima templa veneremur, assentiamur eorum sapientiæ, quorum ingeniis et inventis omnem vitam legibus et institutis excultam constitutamque habemus. Quod si ullum unquam animal consecrandum fuit illud profecto fuit. Si Cadmi, aut Amphytrionis progenies, aut Tyndari in cœlum tollenda fama fuit, huic idem honos certe dicandus est. Quod quidem faciam; teque omnium optimam doctissimamque, approbantibus diis ipsis, in eorum cœtu locatam ad opinionem omnium mortalium consecrabo. Ib.—Vid. Tusc Disp. l. 1. c. xi. 12. 30, 31.

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he; "it is not possible to divert me from it—if "it be not finished this summer, I shall not think "myself clear of guilt—I am more religiously "bound to the execution of it, than any man ever "was to the performance of his vow."* He seems to have designed a fabric of great magnificence; for he had settled the plan with his architect, and contracted for pillars of Chian marble, with a sculptor of that isle; where both the work and the materials were the most esteemed of any in Greece.† One reason that determined him to a temple rather than a sepulchre, was, that in the one he was not limited in the expense, whereas, in the other, he was confined by law to a certain sum, which he could not exceed, without the forfeiture of the same sum also to the public: yet this, as he tells us, was not the chief motive, but a resolution, that he had taken, of making a proper apotheosis.‡ The only difficulty was, to find a place that suited his purpose: his

* Fanum fieri volo, neque mihi erui potest. [Ad Att. 12. 36.] Redeo ad Fanum, nisi hac æstate absolutum erit—scelere me liberatum non putato. [Ib. 41.] Ego me majore religione, quam quisquam fuit ullius voti, obstrictum puto. Ib. 43.

† De Fano illo dico—neque de genere dubito, placet enim mihi Cluatii. [Ib. 18.] Tu tamen cum Apella Chio confice de columnis. [Ib. 19.] Vid. Plin. Hist. N. 36. 5, 6.

‡ Nunquam mihi venit in mentem, quo plus insumtum in monumentum esset, quam nescio quid, quod lege conceditur, tantundem populo dandum esse: quod non magnopere moveret, nisi nescio quomodo, ἀλόγως fortasse. Nollem illud ullo nomine nisi Fani appellari. [Att. 12. 35.] Sepulcri similitudinem effugere non tam propter pœnam legis studeo, quam ut maxime assequar ἀποθέωσιν. Ib. 36.

This fact seems to confirm what the author of the book of Wisdom observes on the origin of idolatry; that it was owing to the fond affection of parents, seeking to do honour to their deceased children. "The father," says he, "oppressed with an un- "expected grief for the sudden death of his child, after making an image of him, be- "gan to worship him as a god, though he was but a dead man, and enjoined certain "rites and mysteries to his servants and dependants." [Wisd. xiv. 15.] But it was not Cicero's real thought, after all, to exalt his daughter into a deity: he knew it to be absurd, as he often declares, to pay divine honours to dead mortals; and tells us, how their very publicans had decided that question in Bœotia: for, when the lands of the immortal gods were excepted out of their lease, by the law of the censors, they denied that any one could be deemed an immortal god who had once been a man; and so made the lands of Amphiaraus and Trophonius pay the same taxes with the rest [de Nat. Deor. 3. 19.]: yet, in a political view, he sometimes recommends the worship of those sons of men, whom their eminent services to mankind had advanced to the rank of inferior gods, as it inculcated, in a manner the most sensible, the doctrine of the soul's immortality. [de Leg. 2. xi.] And since a temple was the most ancient way of doing honour to those dead who had deserved it, [Plin. Hist. 27.] he considered it as the most effectual method of perpetuating the memory and praises

first thought was to purchase certain gardens cross the Tiber, which, lying near the city, and in the public view, were the most likely to draw a resort of votaries to his new temple. He presses Atticus, therefore, to buy them for him, at any rate, without regard to his circumstances; since he would sell, or mortgage, or be content to live on little, rather than be disappointed. Groves and remote places, he says, were proper only for deities of an established name and religion; but for the deification of mortals, public and open situations were necessary, to strike the eyes, and attract the notice of the people. But he found so many obstructions in all his attempts of purchasing, that, to save trouble and expense, Atticus advised him to build, at last, in one of his own villas; to which he seemed inclined, lest the summer should pass without doing any thing: yet he was irresolute still, which of his villas he should choose, and discouraged by reflecting on the change of masters to which all private estates were exposed, in a succession of ages, which might defeat the end of his building, and destroy the honour of his temple, by converting it to other uses, or suffering it to fall into ruins.*

But after all his eagerness and solicitude about this temple, it was never actually built by him; since we find no mention of it in any of the ancient writers; which could not have been omitted, if a fabric so memorable had ever been erected.† It is

of Tullia, and was willing to take the benefit of the popular superstition, and follow the example of those ancients, who had polished and civilized human life, by consecrating such patterns of virtue to the veneration of their fellow-citizens. Vid. Mongault. not. 1. Ad Att. 12. 18.

* Sed ineunda nobis ratio, est, quemadmodum in omni mutatione dominorum, qui innumerabiles fieri possunt in infinita posteritate—illud quasi consecratum remanere possit. Equidem jam nihil egeo vectigalibus, et parvo contentus esse possum. Cogito interdum trans Tiberim hortos aliquos parare, et quidem ob hanc causam maxime nihil enim video quod tam celebre esse posset. [Ad Att. 12. 19.] de hortis, etiam atque etiam te rogo. [ib. 22.] ut sæpe locuti sumus, commutationes dominorum reformido. [ib. 36.] celebritatem requiro. Ib. 37.

† Cœlius Rhodiginus tells us, that in the time of Sixtus the 4th, there was found, near Rome, on the Appian way, over against the tomb of Cicero, the body of a wo-

likely that, as his grief evaporated, and his mind grew more calm, he began to consider his project more philosophically, and to perceive the vanity of expecting any lasting glory from such monuments, which time itself, in the course of a few ages, must necessarily destroy: it is certain, at least, that, as he made no step towards building it this summer, so Cæsar's death, which happened before the next, gave fresh obstruction to it, by the hurry of affairs, in which it engaged him; and though he had not still wholly dropped the thoughts of it, but continued to make a preparation, and to set apart a fund for it,* yet, in the short and busy scene of life, which remained to him, he never had leisure enough to carry it into execution.

He was now grown so fond of solitude, that all company was become uneasy to him; and when his friend Philippus, the father-in-law of Octavius, happened to come to his villa, in that neighbourhood, he was not a little disturbed at it, from the apprehension of being teazed with his visits; and he tells Atticus, with some pleasure, that he had called upon him only to pay a short compliment, and went back again to Rome, without giving him any trouble.† His wife Publilia also wrote him word, that her mother and brother intended to wait upon him, and that she would come along with them, if he would give her leave, which she begged in the most

man, whose hair was dressed up in network of gold, and which, from the inscription, was thought to be the body of Tullia. It was entire, and so well preserved by spices, as to have suffered no injury from time; yet when it was removed into the city, it mouldered away in three days. But this was only the hasty conjecture of some learned of that time, which, for want of authority to support it, soon vanished of itself; for no inscription was ever produced to confirm it, nor has it been mentioned, that I know of, by any other author, that there was any sepulchre of Cicero on the Appian way. Vid. Cœl. Rhod. Lection. antiq. l. 3. c. 24.

* Quod ex istis fructuosis rebus receptum est, id ego ad illud fanum sepositum putabam. Ad Att. 15. 15.

† Mihi adhuc nihil prius fuit hac solitudine, quam vereor, ne Philippus tollat: heri enim vesperi venerat. Ib. 12. 16.

Quod eram veritus, non obturbavit Philippus: nam ut heri me salutavit, statim Romam profectus est. Ib. 18.

earnest and submissive terms:——but his answer was, that he was more indisposed than ever to receive company, and would not have them come; and lest they should come without leave, he desires Atticus to watch their motions, and give him notice, that he might contrive to avoid them.*. A denial so peremptory confirms what Plutarch says, that his wife was now in disgrace with him, on account of her carriage towards his daughter, and for seeming to rejoice at her death; a crime which, in the tenderness of his affliction, appeared to him so heinous, that he could not bear the thoughts of seeing her any more; and though it was inconvenient to him to part with her fortune at this time, yet he resolved to send her a divorce, as a proper sacrifice to the honour of Tullia.†

Brutus, likewise, about this time, took a resolution of putting away his wife Claudia, for the sake of taking Porcia, Bibulus's widow, and his uncle Cato's daughter. But he was much censured for this step; since Claudia had no stain upon her character, was nobly born, the sister of Appius Claudius, and nearly allied to Pompey; so that his mother, Servilia, though Cato's sister, seems to have been averse to the divorce, and strongly in the interests of Claudia, against her niece. Cicero's advice upon it was, that if Brutus was resolved upon the thing, he should do it out of hand, as the best way to put an end to people's talking, by shewing that it was not done out of levity or complaisance to the times, but to take the daughter of Cato,

* Publilia ad me scripsit, matrem suam cum Publilio ad me venturam, et se una, si ego paterer: orat multis et supplicibus verbis ut liceat, et ut sibi rescribam—rescripsi, me etiam gravius esse affectum, quam tum, cum illi dixissem, me solum esse velle, quare nolle me hoc tempore eam ad me venire—te coc nunc rogo ut explores. Ib. 32.

† This affair of Publilia's divorce is frequently referred to, though with some obscurity, in his letters; and we find Atticus employed by him afterwards to adjust with the brother Publilius, the time and manner of paying back the fortune. Vid. Ad Att. 13. 34. 47. 16. 2.

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whose name was now highly popular:* which Brutus soon after complied with, and made Porcia his wife.

There happened another accident this summer, which raised a great alarm in the city; the surprising death of Marcellus, whom Cæsar had lately pardoned. He had left Mitylene, and was come as far as Piræeus, on his way towards Rome; where he spent a day with his old friend and colleague, Serv. Sulpicius, intending to pursue his voyage the day following by sea; but in the night, after Sulpicius had taken leave of him, on the twenty-third of May, he was killed by his friend and client, Magius, who stabbed himself instantly with the same poignard; of which Sulpicius sent the following account to Cicero.

"SERV. SULPICIUS TO M. T. CICERO.

"THOUGH I know that the news, which I am going to tell you, will not be agreeable, yet since chance and nature govern the lives of us all, I thought it my duty to acquaint you with the fact, in what manner soever it happened. On the twenty-second of May I came by sea from Epidaurus to Piræeus, to meet my colleague Marcellus, and for the sake of his company, spent that day with him there. The next day, when I took my leave of him, with design to go from Athens into Bœotia, to finish the remaining part of my jurisdiction, he, as he told me, intended to set sail, at the same time, towards Italy. The day following, about four in the morning, when I was preparing to set out from Athens, his friend, P. Postumius, came to let me know, that Marcellus was stabbed by his companion P. Magius Cilo, after supper, and had receiv-

* A te expecto si quid de Bruto: quanquam Nicias confectum putabat, sed divortium non probari. Ad Att. 13. 9.

Brutus si quid—curabis ut sciam. Cui quidem quam primum agendum puto præsertim si statuit; sermunculum enim omnem aut restinxerit aut sedarit. Ib. 10.

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" ed two wounds, the one in his stomach, the other " in his head near the ear, but he was in hopes still " that he might live; that Magius presently killed " himself; and that Marcellus sent him to inform me " of the case, and to desire that I would bring some " physicians to him. I got some together immedi- " ately, and went away with them before break of " day: but when I was come near Piræeus, Acidi- " nus's boy met me with a note from his master, in " which it was signified, that Marcellus died a little " before day. Thus a great man was murdered by a " base villain; and he, whom his very enemies had " spared on the account of his dignity, received his " death from the hands of a friend. I went forward, " however, to his tent, where I found two of his " freedmen, and a few of his slaves; all the rest, they " said, were fled, being in a terrible fright, on the " account of their master's murder. I was forced to " carry his body with me into the city, in the same " litter in which I came, and by my own servants, " where I provided a funeral for him, as splendid as " the condition of Athens would allow. I could not " prevail with the Athenians to grant a place of bu- " rial for him within the city: they said, that it was " forbidden by their religion, and had never been in- " dulged to any man: but they readily granted what " was the most desirable in the next place, to bury " him in any of their public schools that I pleased. " I chose a place, therefore, the noblest in the uni- " verse, the School of the Academy, where I burnt " him; and have since given orders that the Athe- " nians should provide a marble monument for him " in the same place. Thus I have faithfully per- " formed to him both when living and dead, every " duty which our partnership in office, and my par- " ticular relation to him, required. Adieu. The " thirtieth of May, from Athens."*

M. Marcellus was the head of a family, which, for

* Ep. Fam. 4. 12.

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a succession of many ages, had made the first figure in Rome, and was himself adorned with all the virtues that could qualify him to sustain that dignity which he derived from his noble ancestors. He had formed himself in a particular manner for the bar, where he soon acquired great fame; and, of all the orators of his time, seems to have approached the nearest to Cicero himself, in the character of a complete speaker. His manner of speaking was elegant, strong, and copious; with a sweetness of voice, and propriety of action, that added a grace and lustre to every thing that he said. He was a constant admirer and imitator of Cicero; of the same principles in peace, and on the same side in war; so that Cicero laments his absence, as the loss of a companion and partner in their common studies and labours of life. Of all the magistrates, he was the fiercest opposer of Cæsar's power, and the most active to reduce it; his high spirit, and the ancient glory of his house, made him impatient under the thought of receiving a master; and when the battle of Pharsalia seemed at last to have imposed one upon them, he retired to Mitylene, the usual resort of men of learning; there to spend the rest of his days in a studious retreat; remote from arms, and the hurry of war; and determined neither to seek nor to accept any grace from the conqueror. Here Brutus paid him a visit, and found him, as he gave an account to Cicero, as perfectly easy and happy, under all the misery of the times, from the consciousness of his integrity, as the condition of human life could bear; surrounded with the principal scholars and philosophers of Greece, and eager in the pursuit of knowledge; so that, in departing from him towards Italy, he seemed, he said, to be going himself into exile, rather than leaving Marcellus in it.*

* Mihi, inquit, Marcellus satis est notus. Quid igitur de illo judicas?—quod habiturus es similem tui—ita est, et vehementer placet. Nam et didicit, et omissis cæteris studiis id egit unum, sesque quotidianis commentationibus acerrime exercuit. Itaque et lectis utitur verbis et frequentibus; et splendore vocis, dignitate motus fit

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Magius, who killed him, was of a family which had borne some of the public offices, and had himself been quæstor;* and, having attached himself to the fortunes of Marcellus, and followed him through the wars and his exile, was now returning with him to Italy. Sulpicius gives no hint of any cause that induced him to commit this horrid act: which, by the immediate death of Magius, could never be clearly known. Cicero's conjecture was, that Magius, oppressed with debts, and apprehending some trouble on that score at his return, had been urging Marcellus, who was his sponsor for some part of them, to furnish him with money to pay the whole; and, by receiving a denial, was provoked to the madness of killing his patron.† Others assign a different reason, as the rage of jealousy, and the impatience of seeing others more favoured by Marcellus than himself.‡

As soon as the news reached Rome, it raised a general consternation; and from the suspicious nature of the times, all people's thoughts were presently turned on Cæsar, as if he were privately the contriver of it: and from the wretched fate of so illustrious a citizen, every man began to think himself in danger: Cicero was greatly shocked at it,

speciosum et illustre, quod dicitur; omniaque sic suppetunt, ut ei nullam deesse virtutem oratoris putem. Brut. 367.

Dolebam, Patres conscripti,—illo æmulo atque imitatore studiorum meorum, quasi quodam socio a me et comite distracto—quis enim est illo aut nobilitate, aut probitate, aut optimarum artium studio, aut innocentia, aut ullo genere laudis præstantior?—pro Marcel. 1.

Nostri enim sensus, ut in pace semper, sic tum etiam in bello congruebant. Ib. 6.

Qui hoc tempore ipso—in hoc communi nostro et quasi fatali malo, consoletur se cum conscientia optimæ mentis, tum etiam usurpatione ac renovatione doctrinæ. Vidi enim Mitylenis nuper virum, atque ut dixi, vidi plane virum. Itaque cum eum antea tui similem in dicendo viderim; tum vero nunc doctissimo viro, tibique ut intellexi, amicissimo Cratippo, instructum omni copia, multo videbam similiorem. Brut. ib. vid. Senec. Consolat. ad Helv. p. 79.

* Vid. Pigh. Annal. A. U. 691.

† Quanquam nihil habeo quod dubitem, nisi ipsi Magio quæ fuerit causa amentiæ. Pro quo quidem etiam sponsor Sunii factus est. Nimirum id fuit. Solvendo enim non erat. Credo eum a Marcello petiisse aliquid, et illum, ut erat, constantius respondisse. Ad Att. 13. 10.

‡ Indignatus aliquem amicorum ab eo sibi præferri. Val. Max. 9. 11.

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and seemed to consider it as the prelude of some greater evil to ensue: and Atticus, signifying his concern upon it, advises him to take a more particular care of himself, as being the only consular senator left, who stood exposed to any envy.* But Cæsar's friends soon cleared him of all suspicion; as, indeed, the fact itself did, when the circumstances came to be known, and fixed the whole guilt of it on the fury of Magius.

There appeared, at this time, a bold impostor, who began to make a great noise and figure in Italy, by assuming the name, and pretending to be the grandson of Caius Marius; but apprehending that Cæsar would soon put an end to his pretensions, and treat him as he deserved, he sent a pathetic letter to Cicero, by some young fellows of his company, to justify his claim and descent, and to implore his protection against the enemies of his family; conjuring him, by their relation, by the poem which he had formerly written in praise of Marius, by the eloquence of L. Crassus, his mother's father, whom he had likewise celebrated, that he would undertake the defence of his cause: Cicero answered him very gravely, that he could not want a patron, when his kinsman, Cæsar, so excellent, and generous a man, was now the master of all; yet that he also should be ready to favour him.† But Cæsar, at his return, knowing him to be a cheat, banished him out of Italy; since, instead of being what he pretended to be, he was found to be only a farrier, whose true name was Herophilus.‡

* Minime miror te et graviter ferre de Marcello, et plura vereri periculi genera. Quis enim hoc timeret, quod neque acciderat antea, nec videbatur natura ferre, ut accidere posset. Omnia igitur metuenda, &c. Ad Att. 13. 10.

† Heri—quidam Urbani, ut videbantur, ad me mandata et litteras attulerunt, a C. Mario, C. F. C. N. multis verbis agere mecum per cognationem, quæ mihi secum esset, per eum Marium, quem scripsissem, per eloquentiam L. Crassi avi sui, ut se defenderem—rescripsi nihil ei Patrono opus esse, quoniam Cæsaris, propinqui ejus, omnis potestas esset, viri optimi et hominis liberalissimi: me tamen ei fauturum.—Ad Att. 12 49.

‡ Herophilus aquarius medicus, C. Marium septies Consulem avum sibi vendicando, ita se extulit, ut coloniæ veteranorum complures et municipia splendida, col-

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62.—C. Jul. Cæsar Dict. III. M. Æmilius Lepidus. Mag. Equit.

Ariarathes, the brother and presumptive heir of Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, came to Rome this year, and as Cicero had a particular friendship with his family, and, when consul, had, by a decree of the senate, conferred upon his father the honour of the regal title, he thought proper to send a servant to meet him on the road, and invite him to his house; but he was already engaged by Sestius, whose office it then was to receive foreign princes and ambassadors at the public expense, which Cicero was not displeased with in the present state of his domestic affairs: "He comes," says he, "I guess, to pur-"chase some kingdom of Cæsar, for he has not at "present a foot of land of his own." *

Cicero's whole time, during his solitude, was employed in reading and writing: this was the business both of his days and nights: it is incredible, he says, how much he wrote, and how little he slept; and if he had not fallen into that way of spending his time, he should not have known what to do with himself.† His studies were chiefly philosophical, which he had been fond of from his youth, and, after a long intermission, now resumed with great ardour; having taken a resolution, to explain to his countrymen, in their own language, whatever the Greeks had taught on every part of philosophy, whether speculative or practical: for being driven, as he tells us, from the public administration, he knew no way so effectual of doing good, as by instructing the minds, and reforming the morals of the youth; which, in the licence of those times, wanted every help to restrain

legiaque fere omnia patronum adoptarent—cæterum decreto Cæsaris extra Italiam relegatus, &c. Val. Max. 9. 15.

* Ariarathes Ariobarzani filius Romam venit. Vult, opinor, regnum aliquod emere a Cæsare: nam, quo modo nunc est, pedem ubi ponat in suo non habet. Omnino eum Sestius noster parochus publicus occupavit: quod quidem facile patior. Verumtamen quod mihi, summo beneficio meo, magna cum fratribus illius necessitudo est, invito eum per litteras, ut apud me diversetur. Ad Att. 13. 2.

† Credibile non est, quantum scribam die, quin etiam noctibus. Nihil enim somni. Ib. 26.

Nisi mihi hoc venisset in mentem, scribere ista nescio quæ, quo verterem me non haberem. Ib. 10.

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and correct them. "The calamity of the city," says he, "made this task necessary to me: since, in the "confusion of civil arms, I could neither defend it "after my old way; nor, when it was impossible "for me to be idle, could I find any thing better, "on which to employ myself. My citizens, there- "fore, will pardon, or rather thank me, that when "the government was fallen into the power of a "single person, I neither wholly hid, nor afflicted "myself unnecessarily, nor acted in such a manner "as to seem angry at the man, or the times; nor "yet flattered or admired the fortune of another, so "as to be displeased with my own. For I had learnt "from Plato and philosophy, that these turns and "revolutions of states are natural: sometimes into "the hands of a few, sometimes of the many, some- "times of one: as this was the case of our own Re- "public, so, when I was deprived of my former post "in it, I betook myself to these studies, in order to "relieve my mind from the sense of our common "miseries, and to serve my country, at the same "time, in the best manner that I was able: for my "books supplied the place of my votes in the senate; "and of my speeches to the people; and I took up "philosophy, as a substitute for my management "of the state."*

He now published, therefore, in the way of dialogue, a book, which he called Hortensius, in honour of his deceased friend; where, in a debate of learning, he did, what he had often done in contests of the bar, undertake the defence of philosophy against Hortensius, to whom he assigned the part of arraigning it. † It was the reading of this book, long since unfortunately lost, which first inflamed St. Austin, as he himself somewhere declares, to the study of

* Divin. 2. 2.—de Fin. 1. 3.

† Cohortati sumus, ut maxime potuimus, ad philosophiæ studium eo libro, qui est inscriptus, *Hortensius*—de Divin. 2. 1.

Nos autem universæ philosophiæ vituperatoribus respondimus in Hortensio. Tusc. Disp. 2. 2.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62.—C. Jul. Cæsar Dict. III. M. Æmilius Lepidus. Mag. Equit.

the Christian philosophy; and if it had yielded no other fruit, yet happy it was to the world that it once subsisted, to be the instrument of raising up so illustrious a convert and champion to the church of Christ.*

He drew up also, about this time, in four books, a particular account and defence of the philosophy of the Academy, the sect which he himself followed; being, as he says, of all others, the most consistent with itself, and the least arrogant, as well as most elegant.† He had before published a work, on the same subject, in two books: the one called Catulus, the other Lucullus; but, considering that the argument was not suited to the characters of the speakers, who were not particularly remarkable for any study of that sort, he was thinking to change them to Cato and Brutus; when Atticus, happening to signify to him that Varro had expressed a desire to be inserted in some of his writings, he presently reformed his scheme, and enlarged it into four books, which he addressed to Varro; taking upon himself the part of Philo, of defending the principles of the Academy, and assigning to Varro that of Antiochus, of opposing and confuting them, and introducing Atticus as the moderator of the dispute. He finished the whole with great accuracy; so as to make it a present worthy of Varro; and if he was not deceived, he says, by a partiality and self-love, too common in such cases, there was nothing on the subject equal to it, even among the Greeks.‡ All

* It is certain, that all the Latin Fathers made great use of Cicero's writings: and especially Jerome, who was not so grateful as Austin, in acknowledging the benefit; for, having conceived some scruples, on that score, in his declining age, he endeavoured to discourage his disciples from reading them at all; and declared, that he had not taken either Cicero, or Maro, or any heathen writer into his hands for above fifteen years; for which his adversary Ruffinus rallies him very severely. Vid. Hieron. Op. Tom. 4. par. 2. p. 414. it. par. 1. p. 238. Edict. Benedict.—

† Quod genus philosophandi minime arrogans, maximeque et constans, et elegans arbitraremur, quatuor Academicis libris ostendimus. De Divin. 2. 1.

‡ Ergo illam Ἀκαδημικὴν, in qua homines, nobiles illi quidem, sed nullo modo philologi, nimis acute loquuntur, ad Varronem transferamus—Catulo et Lucullo alibi reponemus.—Ad Att. 13. 12.

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these four books, excepting part of the first, are now lost; whilst the second book of the first edition, which he took some pains to suppress, remains still entire, under its original title of Lucullus.

He published, likewise, this year, one of the noblest of his works, and on the noblest subject in philosophy, his treatise, called De Finibus, or of the chief good and ill of man; written in Aristotle's manner;* in which he explained, with great elegance and perspicuity, the several opinions of all the ancient sects on that most important question. It is there inquired, he tells us, what is the chief end to which all the views of life ought to be referred, in order to make it happy; or what it is, which nature pursues as the supremegood, and shuns as the worst of ills.† The work consists of five books: in the two first, the Epicurean doctrine is largely opened and discussed, being defended by Torquatus, and confuted by Cicero, in a conference, supposed to be held in his Cuman Villa, in the presence of Triarius, a young gentleman, who came with Torquatus to visit him. The two next explain the doctrine of the Stoics, asserted by Cato, and opposed by Cicero, in a friendly debate, upon their meeting accidentally in Lucullus's library. The fifth contains the opinions of the Old Academy, or the Peripatetics, explained by Piso, in a third dialogue, supposed to be held at Athens, in the presence of Cicero, his brother Quintus, cousin Lucius, and Atticus. The critics have observed some impropriety in this last book, in making Piso refer to the other two dia-

Quod ad me de Varrone scripserus, totam Academiam ab hominibus nobilissimis abstuli; transtuli ad nostrum sodalem, et ex duobus libris contuli in quatuor—libri quidem ita exierunt, (nisi me forte communis φιλαυτία decipit) ut in tali genere ne apud Græcos quidem quicquam simile. Ib. 13. vide it. ib. 16. 19.

* Quæ autem his temporibus scripsi Ἀριστοτέλειον morem habent—ita confeci quinque libros περὶ τελῶν. Ib. 19.

† Tum id, quod his libris quæritur, quid sit finis, quid extremum quid ultimum, quo sint omnia bene vivendi, recteque faciendi consilia referenda. Quid sequatur natura, ut summum ex rebus expetendis; quid fugiat ut extremum malorum. De Fin. 1. 1.

logues, of which he had no share, and could not be presumed to have any knowledge.* But if any inaccuracy of that kind be really found in this, or any other of his works, it may reasonably be excused by that multiplicity of affairs, which scarce allowed him time to write, much less to revise what he wrote: and, in dialogues of length, composed by piece-meal, and in the short intervals of leisure, it cannot seem strange, that he should sometimes forget his artificial, to resume his proper character; and enter inadvertently into a part, which he had assigned to another. He addressed this work to Brutus, in return for a present of the same kind, which Brutus had sent to him a little before, *a treatise upon virtue.*†

Not long after he had finished this work, he published another of equal gravity, called his Tusculan Disputations, in five books also, upon as many different questions in philosophy, the most important and useful to the happiness of human life. The first teaches us how to contemn the terrors of death, and to look upon it as a blessing, rather than an evil; the second, to support pain and affliction with a manly fortitude; the third, to appease all our complaints and uneasiness under the accidents of life; the fourth, to moderate all our other passions; the fifth, to evince the sufficiency of virtue to make man happy. It was his custom, in the opportunities of his leisure, to take some friends with him into the country; where, instead of amusing themselves with idle sports of feasts, their diversions were wholly speculative; tending to improve the mind, and enlarge the understanding. In this manner he now spent five days at his Tusculan Villa, in discussing with his friends the several questions just mentioned: for, after employing the mornings in declaiming and rhetorical exercises, they used to retire, in the afternoon, into a gallery, called the Academy, which he had built for

* Vid. Præfat. Davis in Lib. de Fin. † De Fin. l. 3.

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the purpose of philosophical conferences: where, after the manner of the Greeks, he held a school, as they called it, and invited the company to call for any subject, that they desired to hear explained; which being proposed, accordingly, by some of the audience, became immediately the argument of that day's debate. These five conferences, or dialogues, he collected afterwards into writing, in the very words and manner in which they really passed, and published them under the title of his Tusculan Disputations, from the name of the Villa, in which they were held.*

He wrote also a little piece, in the way of a Funeral Encomium, in praise of Porcia; the sister of Cato, the wife of Domitius Ahenobarbus, Cæsar's mortal enemy: which shews how little he was still disposed to court the times. Varro and Lollius attempted the same subject; and Cicero desires Atticus to send him their compositions: but all the three are now lost: though Cicero took the pains to revise and correct his, and sent copies of it afterwards to Domitius the son, and Brutus the nephew of that Porcia.†

Cæsar continued all this while in Spain, pursuing the sons of Pompey, and providing for the future peace and settlement of the province; whence he paid Cicero the compliment of sending him an account of his success with his own hand. Hirtius also gave him early intelligence of the defeat and flight of the two brothers; which was not disagreeable to him; for though he was not much concerned about the event of the war, and expected no good

* In Tusculano, cum essent complures mecum familiares—ponere jubebam, de quo quis audire vellet; ad id aut sedens aut ambulans disputabam. Itaque dierum quinque Scholas, ut Græci appellant, in totidem libros contuli. Tusc. Disp. 1. 4.

Itaque cum ante meridiem dictioni operam dedissemus—post meridiem in academiam descendimus: in qua disputationem habitam non quasi narrantes exponimus, sed eisdem fere verbis ut actum disputatumque est. Ib. 2. 3. 3. 3.

† Laudationem Porciæ tibi misi correctam: ac eo properavi; ut si forte aut Domitio filio aut Bruto mitteretur, hæc mitteretur. Id si tibi erit commodum, magnopere cures velim; et velim M. Varronis, Lolliique mittas laudationem. Ad Att. 13. 48. 1. Ib. 37.

from it on either side, yet the opinion which he had conceived of the fierceness and violence of the young Pompeys, especially of the elder of them, Cnæus, engaged his wishes rather for Cæsar. In a letter to Atticus, "Hirtius," says he, "wrote me word, that "Sextus Pompey had withdrawn himself from Cor- "duba into the hither Spain; and that Cnæus too "was fled, I know not whither, nor in truth do I "care:"* and this indeed seems to have been the common sentiment of all the Republicans; as Cassius himself, writing to Cicero on the same subject, declares still more explicitly; "May I perish," says he, "if I be not solicitous about the event of things "in Spain; and would rather keep our old and cle- "ment master, than try a new and cruel one. You "know what a fool Cnæus is; how he takes cruelty "for a virtue: how he has always thought that we "laughed at him: I am afraid, lest he should take "into his head to repay our jokes, in his rustic man- "ner, with the sword."†

Young Quintus Cicero, who made the campaign along with Cæsar, thinking to please his company, and to make his fortunes the better amongst them, began to play over his old game, and to abuse his uncle again in all places. Cicero, in his account of it to Atticus, says, "there is nothing new, but that "Hirtius has been quarrelling, in my defence, with "our nephew, Quintus, who takes all occasions of "saying every thing bad of me, and especially at "public feasts; and when he has done with me, falls "next upon his father: he is thought to say nothing "so credible, as that we are both irreconcileable to "Cæsar: that Cæsar should trust neither of us; and "even beware of me: this would be terrible, did I

* Hirtius ad me scripsit, Sex. Pompeium Corduba exisse, et fugisse in Hispaniam citeriorem; Cnæum fugisse nescio quo, neque enim curo. Ad Att. 12. 37.

† Peream, nisi sollicitus sum? ac malo veterem ac clementem dominum habere, quam novum et crudelem experiri. Scis, Cnæus quam sit fatuus; scis quomodo crudelitatem virtutem putet; scis quam se semper a nobis derisum putet.

Vereor, ne nos rustice gladio velit ἀντιμυκτηρίσαι. Ep. Fam. 15. 19.

" not see that our king is persuaded that I have no " spirit left."*

Atticus was always endeavouring to moderate Cicero's impatience under the present government, and persuading him to comply more cheerfully with the times, nor to reject the friendship of Cæsar, which was so forwardly offered to him; and upon his frequent complaints of the slavery and indignity of his present condition, he took occasion to observe, what Cicero could not but own to be true; that if to pay a particular court and observance to a man, was the mark of slavery, those in power seemed to be slaves rather to him, than he to them.† With the same view he was now pressing him, among his other works, to think of something to be addressed to Cæsar; but Cicero had no appetite to this task; he saw how difficult it would be to perform it, without lessening his character, and descending to flattery; yet being urged to it also by other friends, he drew up a letter, which was communicated to Hertius and Balbus, for their judgment upon it, whether it was proper to be sent to Cæsar? The subject seems to have been some advice, about restoring the peace and liberty of the Republic, and to dissuade him from the Parthian war, which he intended for his next expedition, till he had finished the more necessary work of settling the state of things at home. There was nothing in it, he says, but what might come from the best of citizens. It was drawn, however, with so much freedom, that though Atticus seemed pleased with it, yet the other two durst not advise the sending it, unless some passages were altered or softened, which disgusted Cicero so much, that he resolved not to

* Novi sane nihil, nisi Hirtium cum Quinto acerrime pro me litigasse; omnibus eum locis facere, maximeque in conviviis; cum multa de me, tum redire ad patrem: nihil autem ab eo tam ἀξιοπίστως dici, quam alienissimos nos esse a Cæsare; fidem nobis habendam non esse: me vero cavendum. φοβεῖν ἦν, nisi viderem scire Regem, me animi nihil habere. Ad Att. 13. 37.

† Et si mehercule, ut tu intelligis, magis mihi isti serviunt, si observare servire est. Ad Att. 13. 49.

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write at all; and when Atticus was still urging him to be more complaisant, he answered with great spirit in two or three letters.

"As for the letter to Cæsar," says he, "I was "always very willing that they should first read it; "for otherwise, I had both been wanting in civility "to them, and, if I had happened to give offence, "exposed myself also to danger. They have dealt "ingenuously and kindly with me in not concealing "what they thought; but what pleases me the most "is, that, by requiring so many alterations, they "give me an excuse for not writing at all. As to "the Parthian war, what had I to consider about "it, but that which I thought would please him? "for what subject was there else for a letter, but "flattery? or if I had a mind to advise, what I really "took to be the best, could I have been at a loss for "words? there is no occasion, therefore, for any "letter: for where there is no great matter to be "gained, and a slip, though not great, may make us "uneasy, what reason is there to run any risk? "especially when it is natural for him to think, that "as I wrote nothing to him before, so I should have "written nothing now, had not the war been wholly "ended: besides, I am afraid lest he should imagine "that I sent this as a sweetener for my Cato: in "short, I was heartily ashamed of what I had writ-"ten, and nothing could fall out more luckily than "that it did not please."†

Again, "As for writing to Cæsar, I swear to you, "I cannot do it; nor is it yet the shame of it that "deters me, which ought to do it the most: for how

* Epistolam ad Cæsarem mitti, video tibi placere—mihi quidem hoc idem maxime placuit, et eo magis, quod nihil est in ea nisi optimi civis; sed ita optimi, ut tempora, quibus parere omnes πολιτικοὶ præcipiunt. Sed scis ita nobis esse visum, ut isti ante legerent. Tu igitur id curabis. Sed nisi plane intelliges iis placere, mittenda non est. Ad. Att. 12. 51.

De epistola ad Cæsarem, κέκριμαι. Atque id ipsum, quod isti aiunt illum scribere, se, nisi constitutis rebus, non iturum in Parthos, idem ego suadebam in illa epistola. Ib. 13. 31.

† Ad Att. 13. 27.

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" mean would it be to flatter, when even to live is " base in me? but it is not, as I was saying, this " shame which hinders me, though I wish it did, for " I should then be, what I ought to be; but I can " think of nothing to write upon. As to those ex- " hortations addressed to Alexander by the elo- " quent and the learned of that time, you see on " what points they turn: they are addressed to a " youth, inflamed with the thirst of true glory, and " desiring to be advised how to acquire it. On an " occasion of such dignity, words can never be want- " ing; but what can I do on my subject? Yet I had " scratched, as it were, out of the block, some faint " resemblance of an image; but because there were " some things hinted in it, a little better than what " we see done every day, it was disliked: I am not " at all sorry for it; for had the letter gone, take " my word for it, I should have had cause to repent. " For do you not see that very scholar of Aristotle, " a youth of the greatest parts and the greatest mo- " desty, after he came to be called a king, grow " proud, cruel, extravagant? Do you imagine that " this man, ranked in the processions of the gods, " and enshrined in the same temple with Romulus, " will be pleased with the moderate style of my " letters? It is better that he be disgusted at my " not writing, than at what I write: in a word, let " him do what he pleases; for that problem, which " I once proposed to you, and thought so difficult, " in what way I should manage him, is over with " me; and in truth, I now wish more to feel the " effect of his resentment, be it what it will, than I " was before afraid of it." * " I beg of you, there- " fore," says he in another letter, " let us have no " more of this, but shew ourselves at least half " free, by our silence and retreat." †

* Ad Att. 13. 28.

† Obsecro, abjiciamus ista; et semiliberi saltem simus; quod assequemur et tacendo, et latendo.—Ib. 31.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62.—C. Jul. Cæsar Dict. III. M. Æmilius Lepidus. Mag. Equit.

From this little fact, one cannot help reflecting on the fatal effects of arbitrary power upon the studies and compositions of men of genius, and on the restraint that it necessarily lays on the free course of good sense and truth among men. It had yet scarce shewn itself in Rome, when we see one of the greatest men, as well as the greatest wits, which that Republic ever bred, embarrassed in the choice of a subject to write upon; and, for fear of offending, choosing not to write at all; and it was the same power, which, from this beginning, gradually debased the purity both of the Roman wit and language, from the perfection of elegance, to which Cicero had advanced them, to that state of rudeness and barbarism, which we find in the productions of the lower empire.

This was the present state of things between Cæsar and Cicero; all the marks of kindness on Cæsar's part, of coldness and reserve on Cicero's. Cæsar was determined never to part with his power, and took the more pains, for that reason, to make Cicero easy under it; he seems, indeed, to have been somewhat afraid of him; not of his engaging in any attempt against his life; but lest, by his insinuations, his railleries, and his authority, he should excite others to some act of violence: but what he more especially desired and wanted, was to draw from him some public testimony of his approbation; and to be recommended by his writings to the favour of posterity.

Cicero, on the other hand, perceiving no step taken towards the establishment of the Republic, but more and more reason every day to despair of it, grew still more indifferent to every thing else: the restoration of public liberty was the only condition on which he could entertain any friendship with Cæsar, or think and speak of him with any respect: without that, no favour could oblige him; since, to receive them from a master was an affront

to his former dignity, and but a splendid badge of servitude: books, therefore, were his only comfort; for while he conversed with them, he found himself easy, and fancied himself free: thus, in a letter to Cassius, touching upon the misery of the times, he adds—"What is become then, you will say, of "philosophy? why, yours is in the kitchen; but "mine is troublesome to me: for I am ashamed to "live a slave; and feign myself therefore to be doing "something else, that I may not hear the reproach "of Plato."*

During Cæsar's stay in Spain, Antony set forward from Italy, to pay his compliments to him there, or to meet him at least on the road in his return towards home: but when he had made about half of the journey, he met with some despatches, which obliged him to turn back, in all haste, to Rome. This raised a new alarm in the city; and especially among the Pompeians, who were afraid that Cæsar, having now subdued all opposition, was resolved, after the example of former conquerors, to take his revenge in cool blood on all his adversaries; and had sent Antony back, as the properest instrument to execute some orders of that sort. Cicero himself had the same suspicion, and was much surprised at Antony's sudden return; till Balbus and Oppius eased him of his apprehensions, by sending him an account of the true reason of it:† which, contrary to expectation, gave no uneasiness at last to any body, but to Antony himself. Antony had bought Pompey's houses in Rome, and the neighbourhood, with all their rich furniture, at Cæsar's auction, soon after his return from Egypt; but, trusting to his interest with Cæsar, and to the part which he

* Ubi igitur, inquies, Philosophia? tua quidem in culina; mea molesta est. Pudet enim servire. Itaque facio me alias res agere, ne convicium Platonis audiam. Ep. Fam. 15. 18.

† Heri cum ex aliorum litteris cognovissem de Antonii adventu, admiratus sum nihil esse in tuis. Ad Att. 12. 18.

De Antonio Balbus quoque ad me cum Oppio conscripsit, idque, tibi placuisse, ne perturbarer. Illis egi gratias.—Ib. 19.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62.—C. Jul. Cæsar Dict. III. M. Æmilius Lepidus. Mag. Equit.

had borne in advancing him to his power, never dreamt of being obliged to pay for them; but Cæsar, being disgusted by the account of his debauches and extravagances in Italy, and resolved to shew himself the sole master, nor suffer any contradiction to his will, sent peremptory orders to L. Plancus, the prætor, to require the immediate payment of Antony, or else to levy the money upon his sureties, according to the tenor of their bond. This was the cause of his quick return, to prevent that disgrace from falling upon him, and find some means of complying with Cæsar's commands: it provoked him, however, to such a degree, that, in the height of his resentment, he is said to have entered into a design of taking away Cæsar's life; of which Cæsar himself complained openly in the senate.*

The war being ended in Spain, by the death of Cnæus Pompey and the flight of Sextus, Cæsar finished his answer to Cicero's Cato, in two books, which he sent immediately to Rome, in order to be published. This gave Cicero, at last, the argument of a letter to him, to return thanks for the great civility with which he had treated him in that piece; and to pay his compliments likewise, in his turn, upon the elegance of the composition. This letter was communicated again to Balbus and Oppius, who declared themselves extremely pleased with it, and forwarded it directly to Cæsar. In Cicero's account of it to Atticus, "I forgot," says he, "to send "you a copy of what I wrote to Cæsar: not for the "reason, which you suspect, that I was ashamed to "let you see how well I could flatter: for, in truth, "I wrote to him no otherwise than as if I was writ"ing to an equal; for I really have a good opinion of

* Appellatus es de pecunia, quam pro domo, pro hortis, pro sectione debebas.—et ad te et ad prædes tuos milites misit. [Phil. 2. 29.] idcirco urbem terrore nocturno, Italiam multorum dierum metu perturbasti—ne L. Plancus prædes tuos venderet—[Ib. 31.] quin his ipsis temporibus domi Cæsaris percussor ab isto missus, deprehensus dicebatur esse cum sica. De quo Cæsar in Senatu, aperte in te invehens, questus est. Ib. 29.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62.—C. Jul. Cæsar Dict. III. M. Æmilius Lepidus. Mag. Equit.

" his two books, as I told you, when we were toge-
" ther; and wrote, therefore, both without flattering
" him, and yet so, that he will read nothing, I be-
" lieve, with more pleasure."*

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coss.—Q. Fabius Maximus. C. Trebonius.

CÆSAR returned to Rome about the end of September; when, divesting himself of the consulship, he conferred it on Q. Fabius Maximus, and C. Trebonius, for the three remaining months of the year.† His first care, after his arrival, was to entertain the city with the most splendid triumph which Rome had ever seen; but the people, instead of admiring and applauding it, as he expected, were sullen and silent; considering it, as it really was, a triumph over themselves; purchased by the loss of their liberty, and the destruction of the best and noblest families of the Republic. They had before given the same proof of their discontent at the Circensian games, where Cæsar's statue, by a decree of the senate, was carried in the procession, along with those of the gods: for they gave none of their usual acclamations to the favourite deities, as they passed, lest they should be thought to give them to Cæsar. Atticus sent an account of it to Cicero, who says, in answer to him, " Your letter was agreeable, though
" the show was so sad:—the people, however, be-
" haved bravely who would not clap even the god-
" dess Victory, for the sake of so bad a neighbour."‡

* Conscripsi de his libris epistolam Cæsari, quæ deferretur ad Dolabellam: sed ejus exemplum misi ad Balbum et Oppium, scripsique ad eos, ut tum deferri ad Dolabellam juberent meas litteras, si ipsi exemplum probassent, ita mihi rescripserunt, nihil unquam se legisse melius. Ad Att. 13. 50.

Ad Cæsarem qui misi epistolam, ejus exemplum fugit me tum tibi mittere; nec id fuit quod suspicaris, ut me puderet tui—nec mehercule scripsi aliter, ac si πρὸς ἴσον ὁμοίων quæ scriberem. Bene enim existimo de illis libris, ut tibi coram. Itaque scripsi et ἀκολακτότως, et tamen sic, ut nihil eum existimem lecturum libentius. Ib. 51.

† Utroque anno binos consules substituit sibi in ternos novissimos menses. Suet. J. Cæs. 76.

‡ Suaves tuas litteras! etsi acerba pompa—populum vero præclarum, quod propter tam malum vicinum, ne victoriæ ploditur. Ad Att. 13. 44.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coss.—Q. Fabius Maximus. C. Trebonius.

Cæsar, however, to make amends for the unpopularity of his triumph, and to put the people into good humour, entertained the whole city, soon after, with something more substantial than shows—two public dinners, with plenty of the most esteemed and costly wines of Chios and Falernum.*

Soon after Cæsar's triumph, the consul Fabius, one of his lieutenants in Spain, was allowed to triumph too, for the reduction of some parts of that province, which had revolted: but the magnificence of Cæsar made Fabius's triumph appear contemptible; for his models of the conquered towns, which were always a part of the show, being made only of wood, when Cæsar's were of silver or ivory, Chrysippus merrily called them the cases only of Cæsar's towns.†

Cicero resided generally in the country, and withdrew himself wholly from the senate:‡ but, on Cæsar's approach towards Rome, Lepidus began to press him, by repeated letters, to come and give them his assistance; assuring him, that both he and Cæsar would take it very kindly of him. He could not guess for what particular service they wanted him, except the dedication of some temple, to which the presence of three augurs was necessary.§ But whatever it was, as his friends had long been urging the same advice, and persuading him to return to public affairs, he consented, at last, to quit his retirement and come to the city; where, soon after Cæsar's arrival, he had an opportunity of employing his autho-

* Quid non et Cæsar dictator triumphi sui cœna vini Falerni amphoras, Chii cados in convivia distribuit? idem in Hispaniensi triumpho Chium et Falernum dedit. Plin. Hist. 14. 15.

Adjecit post Hispaniensem victoriam duo prandia. Sueton. 38.

† Ut Chrysippus, cum in triumpho Cæsaris eborea oppida essent translata, et post dies paucos Fabii Maximi lignea, thecas esse oppidorum Cæsaris dixit. Quintil. 6. 3. Dio, 234.

‡ Cum his temporibus non sane in Senatum ventitarem. Ep. Fam. 13. 77.

§ Ecce tibi, orat Lepidus, ut veniam. Opinor augures nil habere ad Templum effandum. Ad Att. 13. 42.

Lepidus ad me heri—litteras misit. Rogat magnopere ut sim Kalend. in Senatu, me et sibi et Cæsari vehementer gratum esse facturum. Ib. 47.

rity and eloquence, where he exerted them always with the greatest pleasure, in the service and defence of an old friend, king Deiotarus.

This prince had already been deprived, by Cæsar, of part of his dominions, for his adherence to Pompey, and was now in danger of losing the rest, from an accusation preferred against him by his grandson, of a design pretended to have been formed by him against Cæsar's life, when Cæsar was entertained at his house, four years before, on his return from Egypt. The charge was groundless and ridiculous; but, under his present disgrace, any charge was sufficient to ruin him; and Cæsar's countenancing it, so far as to receive and hear it, shewed a strong prejudice against the king, and that he wanted only a pretence for stripping him of all that remained to him. Brutus likewise interested himself very warmly in the same cause; and when he went to meet Cæsar on his road from Spain, made an oration to him, at Nicæa, in favour of Deiotarus, with a freedom which startled Cæsar, and gave him occasion to reflect on what he had not perceived so clearly before, the invincible fierceness and vehemence of Brutus's temper.* The present trial was held in Cæsar's house, where Cicero so manifestly exposed the malice of the accuser, and the innocence of the accused, that Cæsar, being determined not to acquit, yet ashamed to condemn him, chose the expedient of reserving his sentence to farther deliberation, till he should go in person into the east, and inform himself of the whole affair upon the spot. Cicero says, that Deiotarus, neither present nor absent, could ever obtain any favour or equity from Cæsar: and that as often as he pleaded for him,

* Ad Att. 14. 1. The Jesuits, Catrou and Rouille, take Nicæa, where Brutus made this speech, to be the capital of Bithynia, Deiotarus's kingdom: but it was a city on the Ligurian coast, still called Nice, where Brutus met Cæsar on his last return from Spain, and when he was not able to prevail for Deiotarus, Cicero was forced to undertake the cause as soon as Cæsar came to Rome. Vid. Hist. Tom. 17. p. 91. not.

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which he was always ready to do, he could never persuade Cæsar to think any thing reasonable that he asked for him.* He sent a copy of his oration to the king; and, at Dolabella's request, gave another likewise to him: excusing it as a trifling performance, and hardly worth transcribing; "but I had a "mind," says he, "to make a slight present to my "old friend and host, of coarse stuff indeed, yet such "as his presents usually are to me."†

Some little time after this trial, Cæsar, to shew his confidence in Cicero, invited himself to spend a day with him at his house in the country, and chose the third day of the Saturnalia for his visit; a season always dedicated to mirth and feasting amongst friends and relations.‡ Cicero gives Atticus the following account of the entertainment, and how the day passed between them:—"O this guest," says he, "whom I so much dreaded! yet I had no rea- "son to repent of him: for he was well pleased with "his reception. When he came the evening before, "on the eighteenth, to my neighbour Philip's, the "house was so crowded with soldiers, that there "was scarce a room left empty for Cæsar to sup in: "there were about two thousand of them, which "gave me no small pain for the next day: but Barba "Cassius relieved me; for he assigned me a guard, "and made the rest encamp in the field: so that my "house was clear. On the nineteenth, he staid at "Philip's till one in the afternoon, but saw nobody; "was settling accounts, I guess, with Balbus; then "took a walk on the shore; bathed after two; heard

* Quis enim cuiquam inimicitior, quam Deiotaro Cæsar?—a quo nec præsens, nec absens Rex Deiotarus quidquam, æqui boni impetravit—ille nunquam, semper enim absenti affui Deiotaro, quicquam sibi, quod nos pro illo postularemus, æquum dixit videri. Philip. 2. 37.

† Oratiunculam pro Deiotaro, quam requirebas—tibi misi. Quam velim sic legas, ut causam tenuem et inopem, nec scriptione magno opere dignam. Sed ego hospiti veteri et amico munusculum mittere volui levidense, crasso filo, cujusmodi ipsius solent esse munera. Ep. Fam. 9. 12.

‡ This festival, after Cæsar's reformation of the kalendar, began on the 17th December, and lasted three days. Macrob. Saturn. 1. x.

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" the verses on Mamurra,* at which he never
" changed countenance; was rubbed, anointed, sat
" down to table. Having taken a vomit just before,
" he eat and drank freely, and was very cheerful:†
" the supper was good and well served:

" But our discourse at table, as we eat,
" For taste and seasoning still excell'd our meat.‡

" Besides Cæsar's table, his friends were plentifully
" provided for in three other rooms; nor was there
" any thing wanting to his freedmen of lower rank,
" and his slaves; but the better sort were elegantly
" treated. In a word, I acquitted myself like a
" man: yet, he is not a guest to whom one would say,
" at parting, pray call upon me again, as you return:
" once is enough: we had not a word on business,

* Mamurra was a Roman knight, and general of the artillery to Cæsar, in Gaul; where he raised an immense fortune, and is said to have been the first man in Rome, who incrusted his house with marble, and made all his pillars of solid marble. [Plin. Hist. 36. 6.] He was severely lashed, together with Cæsar himself, for his excessive luxury, and more infamous vices, by Catullus; whose verses are still extant, and the same, probably, that Cicero here refers to, as being first read to Cæsar at his house. Vid. Catull. 27. 55.

The reader, perhaps, will not readily understand the time and manner of Cæsar's passing from Philip's house to Cicero's in this short account of it: but it must be remembered, that their villas were adjoining to each other on the Formian coast, near Cajeta; so that when Cæsar came out of Philip's at one, he took a walk on the shore for about an hour, and then entered into Cicero's: where the bath was prepared for him, and, in bathing, he heard Catullus's verses; not produced by Cicero, for that would not have been agreeable to good manners, but by some of his own friends, who attended him, and who knew his desire to see every thing that was published against him, as well as his easiness in slighting or forgiving it.

† The custom of taking a vomit, both immediately before and after meals, which Cicero mentions Cæsar to have done on different occasions, [pro Deiot. 7.] was very common with the Romans, and used by them as an instrument both of their luxury and of their health: they vomit, says Seneca, that they may eat, and eat that they may vomit. [Consol. ad Helo. 9.] By this evacuation before eating, they were prepared to eat more plentifully; and by emptying themselves presently after it, prevented any hurt from repletion. Thus Vitellius, who was a famous glutton, is said to have preserved his life by constant vomits, while he destroyed all his companions, who did not use the same caution. [Sueton. 12. Dio. 65. 734.] And the practice was thought so effectual for strengthening the constitution, that it was the constant regimen of all the Athletæ, or the professed wrestlers, trained for the public shows, in order to make them more robust. So that Cæsar's vomiting before dinner was a sort of compliment to Cicero, as it intimated a resolution to pass the day cheerfully, and to eat and drink freely with him.

‡ This is a citation from Lucilius, of an hexameter verse, with part of a second, which is not distinguished from the text, in the editions of Cicero's Letters.

Sed bene cocto et condito sermone hæc; et si quæris libenter.

" but many on points of literature: in short, he was " delighted with his entertainment, and passed the " day agreeably. He talked of spending one day " at Puteoli; another at Baiæ. Thus you see the man- " ner of my receiving him; somewhat troublesome, " indeed, but not uneasy to me. I shall stay here a " little longer, and then to Tusculum. As he pass- " ed by Dolabella's villa, his troops marched close " by his horse's side, on the right and left; which " was done no where else. I had this from Ni- " cias."*

On the last of December, when the consul Trebonius was abroad, his colleague, Q. Fabius, died suddenly; and his death being declared in the morning, C. Caninius Rebilus was named by Cæsar to the vacancy at one in the afternoon, whose office was to continue only through the remaining part of that day. This wanton profanation of the sovereign dignity of the empire, raised a general indignation in the city; and a consulate so ridiculous gave birth to much raillery, and many jokes, which are transmitted to us by the ancients;† of which, Cicero, who was the chief author of them, gives us the following specimen, in his own account of the fact.

" CICERO TO CURIUS.

" I NO longer either advise or desire you to come " home to us, but want to fly some whither myself, " where I may hear neither the name nor the acts of " these sons of Pelops. It is incredible how meanly " I think of myself, for being present at these trans- " actions. You had surely an early foresight of " what was coming on, when you ran away from this " place: for though it be vexatious to hear of such " things, yet that is more tolerable than to see them. " It is well that you were not in the field, when, at

* Ad Att. 13. 52. † Macrob. Saturn. 2. 3. Dio, p. 236.

"seven in the morning, as they were proceeding to "an election of quæstors, the chair of Q. Maximus, "whom they called consul,* was set in its place; but "his death being immediately proclaimed, it was "removed; and Cæsar, though he had taken the au- "spices for an assembly of the tribes, changed it to "an assembly of the centuries, and at one in the af- "ternoon, declared a new consul, who was to govern "till one the next morning. I would have you to "know, therefore, that whilst Caninius was consul, "nobody dined: and that there was no crime com- "mitted in his consulship, for he was so wonder- "fully vigilant, that through his whole administra- "tion he never so much as slept. These things seem "ridiculous to you, who are absent; but, were you "to see them, you would hardly refrain from tears.— "What if I should tell you the rest? For there are "numberless facts of the same kind, which I could "never have borne, if I had not taken refuge in the "port of philosophy, with our friend Atticus, the "companion and partner of my studies," &c.†

Cæsar had so many creatures and dependants, who expected the honour of the consulship from him, as the reward of their services, that it was impossible to oblige them all in the regular way, so that he was forced to contrive the expedient of splitting it, as it were, into parcels, and conferring it for a few months, or weeks, or even days, as it happened to suit his convenience: and, as the thing itself was now but a name, without any real power, it was of little moment for what term it was granted; since the shortest gave the same privilege with the longest, and a man once declared consul, enjoyed ever after the rank and character of a consular senator.‡

* Cicero would not allow a consul of three months, so irregularly chosen, to be properly called a consul: nor did the people themselves acknowledge him: for, as Suetonius tells us, [in J. Cæs. 80.] when, upon Fabius's entrance into the theatre, his officers, according to custom, proclaimed his presence, and ordered the people to make way for the consul, the whole assembly cried out "He is no consul."

† Ep. Fam. 7. 30. ‡ Vid. Dio, p. 240.

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On the opening of the new year, Cæsar entered into his fifth consulship, in partnership with M. Antony: he had promised it all along to Dolabella, but, contrary to expectation, took it at last to himself. This was contrived by Antony, who, jealous of Dolabella, as a rival in Cæsar's favour, had been suggesting somewhat to his disadvantage, and labouring to create a diffidence of him in Cæsar; which seems to have been the ground of what is mentioned above,—Cæsar's guarding himself so particularly, when he passed by his villa. Dolabella was sensibly touched with this affront, and came full of indignation to the senate; where, not daring to vent his spleen on Cæsar, he entertained the assembly with a severe speech against Antony, which drew on many warm and angry words between them; till Cæsar, to end the dispute, promised to resign the consulship to Dolabella, before he went to the Parthian war: but Antony protested, that, by his authority as augur, he would disturb that election, whenever it should be attempted;* and declared, without any scruple, that the ground of his quarrel with Dolabella, was for having caught him in an attempt to debauch his wife Antonia, the daughter of his uncle: though that was thought to be a calumny, contrived to colour his divorce with her, and his late marriage with Fulvia, the widow of Clodius.†

Cæsar was now in the height of all his glory, and dressed, as Florus says, in all his trappings, like a victim destined to sacrifice.‡ He had received from the senate the most extravagant honours, both human and divine, which flattery could invent; a temple, altar, priest; his image carried in procession

* Cum Cæsar ostendisset, se, priusquam proficisceretur, Dolabellam Consulem esse jussurum—hic bonus Augur eo se sacerdotio præditum esse dixit, ut comitia auspiciis vel impedire vel vitiare posset, idque se facturum asseveravit. Philip. 2. 32.

† Frequentissimo Senatu—hanc tibi esse cum Dolabella causam odii dicere ausus es, quod ab eo, sorori et uxori tuæ stuprum oblatum esse comperisses. Philip. 2. 38.

‡ Quæ omnia, velut infulæ, in destinatam morti victimam congerebantur. l. 4. 2. 92.

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with the gods; his statue among the kings; one of the months called after his name, and a perpetual dictatorship.* Cicero endeavoured to restrain the excess of this complaisance, within the bounds of reason,† but in vain; since Cæsar was more forward to receive, than they to give; and, out of the gaiety of his pride, and to try, as it were, to what length their adulation would reach, when he was actually possessed of every thing which carried with it any real power, was not content still without a title, which could add nothing but envy, and popular odium, and wanted to be called a king. Plutarch thinks it a strange instance of folly in the people, to endure, with patience, all the real effects of kingly government, yet declare such an abhorrence to the name. But the folly was not so strange in the people as it was in Cæsar: it is natural to the multitude to be governed by names, rather than things, and the constant art of parties to keep up that prejudice; but it was unpardonable, in so great a man as Cæsar, to lay so much stress on a title, which, so far from being an honour to him, seemed to be a diminution rather of that superior dignity which he already enjoyed.

Among the other compliments that were paid to him, there was a new fraternity of Luperci instituted to his honour, and called by his name, of which Antony was the head. Young Quintus Cicero was one of this society, with the consent of his father, though to the dissatisfaction of his uncle, who considered it not only as a low piece of flattery, but an indecency for a young man of family to be engaged in ceremonies so immodest, of running naked and frantic about the streets.‡ The festival was held about the middle of February; and Cæsar, in his triumphal robe, seated himself in the rostra,

* Flor. ib. Sueton. J. Cæs. 76. † Plut. in Cæs.

‡ Quintus Pater quartum vel potius millesimum nihil sapit, qui lætetur Luperco filio et Statio, ut cernat duplici dedecore cumulatam domum. Ad Att. 12. 5.

in a golden chair, to see the diversion of the running; where, in the midst of their sport, the consul Antony, at the head of his naked crew, made him the offer of a regal diadem, and attempted to put it on his head; at the sight of which a general groan issued from the whole Forum; till, upon Cæsar's slight refusal of it, the people testified their joy, by an universal shout. Antony, however, ordered it to be entered in the public acts, that, by the command of the people, he had offered the kingly name and power to Cæsar, and that Cæsar would not accept it.*

While this affair of the kingly title amused and alarmed the city, two of the tribunes, Marullus and Cæsetius, were particularly active in discouraging every step and attempt towards it; they took off the diadem which certain persons had privately put upon Cæsar's statue, in the rostra, and committed those to prison who were suspected to have done it, and publicly punished others for daring to salute him in the streets by the name of king; declaring, that Cæsar himself refused and abhorred that title. This provoked Cæsar beyond his usual temper and command of himself, so that he accused them to the senate, of a design to raise a sedition against him, by persuading the city, that he really affected to be a king: but when the assembly was going to pass the severest sentence upon them, he was content with deposing them from their magistracy, and expelling them from the senate,† which convinced people still the more of his real fondness for a name that he pretended to despise.

He had now prepared all things for his expedition against the Parthians; had sent his legions before

* Sedebat in Rostris collega tuus, amictus toga purpurea, in sella aurea, coronatus: adscendis, accedis ad sellam—diadema ostendis: gemitus toto foro—tu diadema imponebas cum plangore populi, ille cum plausu rejiciebat—at enim adscribi jussit in Fastis ad Lupercalia, C. Cæsari, Dictatori perpetuo M. Antonium Consulem populi jussu regnum detulisse, Cæsarem uti noluisse. [Philip. 2. 34.] Quod ab eo ita repulsum erat, ut non offensus videretur. Vell. Pat. 2. 56.

† Sueton. J. Cæs. 79. Dio, p. 245. App. l. 2. p. 496. Vell. Pat. 2. 68.

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him into Macedonia; settled the succession of all the magistrates for two years to come;* appointed Dolabella to take his own place, as consul of the current year; named A. Hirtius and C. Pansa for consuls of the next; and D. Brutus and Cn. Plancus for the following year: but before his departure, he resolved to have the regal title conferred upon him by the senate, who were too sensible of his power, and obsequious to his will, to deny him any thing: and to make it the more palatable, at the same time, to the people, he caused a report to be industriously propagated through the city, of ancient prophecies found in the Sibylline books, that the Parthians could not be conquered but by a king; on the strength of which, Cotta, one of the guardians of those books, was to move the senate, at their next meeting, to decree the title of king to him.† Cicero, speaking afterwards of this design, says—It was expected that some forged testimonies would be produced, to shew that he, whom we had felt in reality to be a king, should be called also by that name, if we would be safe; but let us make a bargain with the keepers of those oracles, that they bring any thing out of them rather than a king, which neither the gods nor men will ever endure again at Rome.‡

One would naturally have expected, after all the fatigues and dangers through which Cæsar had made his way to empire, that he would have chosen to spend the remainder of a declining life in the quiet enjoyment of all the honours and pleasures which absolute power, and a command of the world, could

* Etiamne Consules et Tribunos plebis in biennium, quos ille voluit? Ad Att. 14. 6.

† Proximo autem Senatu, L. Cottam quindecimvirum sententiam dicturum; ut quoniam libris fatalibus contineretur, Parthos non nisi a Rege posse vinci, Cæsar Rex appellaretur. Sueton. c. 79. Dio, p. 247.

‡ Quorum interpres nuper falsa quædam hominum fama dicturus in Senatu putabatur, eum, quem re vera Regem habebamus, appellandum quoque esse Regem, si salvi esse vellemus—cum antistitibus agamus, ut quidvis potius ex illis libris, quam Regem proferant, quem Romæ posthac nec Dii nec homines esse patientur. De Divin. 2. 54.

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bestow: but, in the midst of all this glory, he was a stranger still to ease: he saw the people generally disaffected to him, and impatient under his government; and though amused awhile with the splendour of his shows and triumphs, yet regretting severely, in cool blood, the price that they had paid for them; the loss of their liberty, with the lives of the best and noblest of their fellow-citizens. This expedition, therefore, against the Parthians, seems to have been a political pretext for removing himself from the murmurs of the city, and leaving to his ministers the exercise of an invidious power, and the task of taming the spirits of the populace; whilst he, by employing himself in gathering fresh laurels in the east, and extending the bounds and retrieving the honour of the empire against its most dreaded enemy, might gradually reconcile them to a reign that was gentle and clement at home, successful and glorious abroad.

But his impatience to be a king defeated all his projects, and accelerated his fate, and pushed on the nobles, who had conspired against his life, to the immediate execution of their plot, that they might save themselves the shame of being forced to concur in an act which they heartily detested:* and the two Brutuses, in particular, the honour of whose house was founded in the extirpation of kingly government, could not but consider it as a personal infamy, and a disgrace to their very name, to suffer the restoration of it.

There were above sixty persons said to be engaged in this conspiracy,† the greatest part of them of the senatorian rank; but M. Brutus and C. Cassius were the chief in credit and authority, the first contrivers and movers of the whole design.

M. Junius Brutus was about one and forty years

* Quæ causa conjuratis fuit maturandi destinata negotia, ne assentiri necesse esset. Sueton. J. Cæs. 80. Dio, p. 247.

† Conspiratum est in eum a Sexaginta amplius, C. Cassio, Marcoque et Decimo Bruto principibus conspirationis. Sueton. 80.

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old, of the most illustrious family of the Republic, deriving his name and descent in a direct line from that first consul, L. Brutus, who expelled Tarquin, and gave freedom to the Roman people.* Having lost his father when very young, he was trained with great care by his uncle Cato, in all the studies of polite letters, especially of eloquence and philosophy, and, under the discipline of such a tutor, imbibed a warm love for liberty and virtue. He had excellent parts, and equal industry, and acquired an early fame at the bar; where he pleaded several causes of great importance, and was esteemed the most eloquent and learned of all the young nobles of his age. His manner of speaking was correct, elegant, judicious, yet wanting that force and copiousness which is required in a consummate orator. But philosophy was his favourite study; in which, though he professed himself of the more moderate sect of the old academy, yet, from a certain pride and gravity of temper, he affected the severity of the stoic, and to imitate his uncle Cato, to which he was wholly unequal: for he was of a mild, merciful, and compassionate disposition; averse to every thing cruel, and was often forced, by the tenderness of his nature, to confute the rigour of his principles. While his mother lived in the greatest familiarity with Cæsar, he was constantly attached to the op-

* Some of the ancient writers call in question this account of Brutus's descent; particularly Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the most judicious and critical of them, who alleges several arguments against it, which seem to be very plausible: yet, while Brutus lived, it was universally allowed to him. Cicero mentions it, in his public speeches, and other writings, as a fact that nobody doubted; and often speaks of the image of old Brutus, which Marcus kept in his house, among those of his ancestors: and Atticus, who was peculiarly curious in the antiquities of the Roman families, drew up Brutus's genealogy for him, and deduced his succession from that old hero, in a direct line, through all the intermediate ages, from father to son. Corn Nep. vit. Att. 18.—Tusc. Disp. 4. 1.

He was born in the consulship of L. Cornelius Cinna III. and Cn. Papirius Carbo, A. U. 668. which fully confutes the vulgar story of his being commonly believed to be Cæsar's son; since he was but fifteen years younger than Cæsar himself; whose familiarity with his mother, Servilia, cannot be supposed to have commenced till many years after Brutus was born, or not till Cæsar had lost his first wife Cornelia, whom he married when he was very young, and always tenderly loved; and whose funeral oration he made when he was quæstor, and consequently thirty years old. Vid. Sueton. J. Cæs. c. 1. 6. 50. It. Brut. p. 343, 447. et Corradi notas.

posite party, and firm to the interests of liberty: for the sake of which he followed Pompey, whom he hated, and acted on that side with a distinguished zeal. At the battle of Pharsalia, Cæsar gave particular orders to find out and preserve Brutus; being desirous to draw him from the pursuit of a cause that was likely to prove fatal to him; so that when Cato, with the rest of the chiefs, went to renew the war in Afric, he was induced, by Cæsar's generosity, and his mother's prayers, to lay down his arms, and return to Italy. Cæsar endeavoured to oblige him by all the honours which his power could bestow: but the indignity of receiving from a master, what he ought to have received from a free people, shocked him much more than any honours could oblige; and the ruin, in which he saw his friends involved, by Cæsar's usurped dominion, gave him a disgust, which no favours could compensate. He observed, therefore, a distance and reserve through Cæsar's reign; aspired to no share of his confidence, or part in his councils; and, by the uncourtly vehemence with which he defended the rights of King Deiotarus, convinced Cæsar that he could never be obliged, where he did not find himself free. He cultivated, all the while, the strictest friendship with Cicero, whose principles, he knew, were utterly averse to the measures of the times, and in whose free conversation he used to mingle his own complaints, on the unhappy state of the Republic, and the wretched hands into which it was fallen: till, animated by these conferences, and confirmed by the general discontent of all the honest, he formed the bold design of freeing his country by the destruction of Cæsar. He had publicly defended Milo's act of killing Clodius, by a maxim which he maintained to be universally true, that those who live in defiance of the laws, and cannot be brought to a trial, ought to be taken off without a trial. The case was applicable to Cæsar in a much higher degree than to

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Clodius, whose power had placed him above the reach of the law, and left no way of punishing him, but by an assassination. This, therefore, was Brutus's motive; and Antony did him the justice to say, that he was the only one of the conspiracy who entered into it out of principle; that the rest, from private malice, rose up against the man, he alone against the tyrant.*

C. Cassius was descended likewise from a family not less honourable or ancient, nor less zealous for the public liberty, than Brutus's: whose ancestor, Sp. Cassius, after a triumph and three consulships, is said to have been condemned, and put to death by his own father, for aiming at a dominion. He shewed a remarkable instance, when a boy, of his high spirit and love of liberty; for he gave Sylla's son, Faustus, a box on the ear, for bragging, among his schoolfellows, of his father's greatness and absolute power; and when Pompey called the boys before him, to give an account of their quarrel, he declared, in his presence, that if Faustus should dare to repeat the words, he would repeat the blow. He was quæstor to Crassus, in the Parthian war, where he greatly signalized both his courage and skill; and if Crassus had followed his advice, would have preserved the whole army; but, after their miserable defeat, he made good his retreat into Syria, with the remains of the broken legions; and when the Parthians, flushed with success, pursued him thither, soon after, and blocked him up in Antioch, he preserved that city

* Natura admirabilis, et exquisita doctrina, et singularis industria. Cum enim in maximis causis versatus esses—[Brut. 26.] quo magis tuum, Brute, judicium probo, qui eorum, id est, ex vetere academia, philosophorum sectam secutus es, quorum in doctrina et præceptis disserendi ratio conjungitur cum suavitate dicendi et copia. [Brut. 219.] Nam cum inambularem in Xysto—M. ad me Brutus, ut consueverat, cum T. Pomponio venerat—[Brut. 15.] tum Brutus—ituque doleo et illius consilio et tua voce populum Rom. carere tamdiu. Quod cum per se dolendum est, tum multo magis consideranti, ad quos ista non translata sint, sed nescio quo pacto devenerint. Brut. 269.

Ἀλλ' Ἀντωνίου γε καὶ πολλοὺς ἀκοῦσαι λέγοντος, ὡς μόνον οἴοιτο δεῦτον ἐπιθέσθαι Καίσαρι, προαχθέντα τῇ λαμπρότητι καὶ τῷ φαινομένῳ καλῷ τῆς πράξεως. Vid. Plut. in Brut. p. 997. it. App. p. 498.

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and province from falling into their hands; and, watching his opportunity, gained a considerable victory over them, with the destruction of their general. In the civil war, after the battle of Pharsalia, he sailed with seventy ships to the coast of Asia, to raise fresh forces in that country, and renew the war against Cæsar; but, as the historians tell us, happening to meet with Cæsar crossing the Hellespont, in a common passage-boat, instead of destroying him, as he might have done, he was so terrified by the sight of the conqueror, that he begged his life, in an abject manner, and delivered up his fleet to him. But Cicero gives us a hint of a quite different story, which is much more probable, and worthy of Cassius; that, having got intelligence where Cæsar designed to land, he lay in wait for him, in a bay of Cilicia, at the mouth of the river Cydnus, with a resolution to destroy him; but Cæsar happened to land on the opposite shore before he was aware, so that, seeing his project blasted, and Cæsar secured in a country, where all people were declaring for him, he thought it best to make his own peace too, by going over to him with his fleet. He married Tertia, the sister of Brutus, and though differing in temper and philosophy, was strictly united with him in friendship and politics, and the constant partner of all his counsels. He was brave, witty, learned; yet passionate, fierce, and cruel: so that Brutus was the more amiable friend—he the more dangerous enemy. In his latter years he deserted the stoics, and became a convert to Epicurus, whose doctrine he thought more natural and reasonable; constantly maintaining, that the pleasure which their master recommended, was to be found only in the habitual practice of justice and virtue. While he professed himself, therefore, an Epicurean, he lived like a stoic; was moderate in pleasures, temperate in diet, and a water-drinker through life. He at-

tached himself very early to the observance of Cicero, as all the young nobles did, who had any thing great or laudable in view: this friendship was confirmed by a conformity of their sentiments in the civil war, and in Cæsar's reign; during which, several letters passed between them, written with a freedom and familiarity, which is to be found only in the most intimate correspondence. In these letters, though Cicero rallies his Epicureanism, and change of principles, yet he allows him to have acted always with the greatest honour and integrity; and pleasantly says, that he should begin to think that sect to have more nerves than he imagined, since Cassius had embraced it. The old writers assign several frivolous reasons of disgust, as the motives of his killing Cæsar: that Cæsar took a number of lions from him, which he had provided for a public show; that he would not give him the consulship; that he gave Brutus the more honourable prætorship, in preference to him. But we need not look farther for the true motive, than to his temper and principles: for his nature was singularly impetuous and violent, impatient of contradiction, and much more of subjection, and passionately fond of glory, virtue, liberty: it was from these qualities that Cæsar apprehended his danger; and, when admonished to beware of Antony and Dolabella, used to say, that it was not the gay, the curled, and the jovial, whom he had cause to fear, but the thoughtful, the pale, and the lean; meaning Brutus and Cassius.*

* C. Cassius in ea familia natus, quæ non modo dominatum, sed ne potentiam quidem cujusquam ferre potuit. [Philip. 2. 11.] Quem ubi primum magistratu abiit, damnatumque constat. Sunt qui patrem actorem ejus supplicii ferant. Eum cognita domi causa, verberasse ac necasse, peculiumque filii Cereri consecravisse. [Liv. 2. 41.] Cujus filium, Faustum, C. Cassius condiscipulum suum in schola, proscriptionem paternam laudantem—colapho percussit. [Va. Max. 3. 1. vid. Plut. in Brut.] Reliquias legionum C. Cassius—Quæstor conservavit, Syriamque adeo in populi Romani potestate retinuit, ut transgressos, in eum Parthos, felici rerum eventu fugaret ac funderet. [Vell. Pat. 2. 46. it. Philip. xi. 14.] οὐδὲ ἔχγον ἔτυχον ἡγοῦμαι τύχης ἐν ἀπόρῳ καιρῷ γενέσθαι μᾶλλον, ἢ Κάσσιον τὸν πολεμικώτατον ἐπὶ τριηρῶν ἑδδομήκοντα ἀπαρασκεύῳ Καίσαρι συντυχόντα, μηδ' ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἐπιστῆναι, ὁ δ' οὕτως ἑαυτὸν αἰσχρῶς ὑπὸ φόβου μόνου παραπλήσιον παραδούς, ὥστε εἰ Ῥώμῃ δυνατεύοντα ἤδη κατικ-

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The next in authority to Brutus and Cassius, though very different from them in character, were Decimus Brutus and C. Trebonius: they had both been constantly devoted to Cæsar, and were singularly favoured, advanced, and entrusted by him in all his wars: so that, when Cæsar marched first into Spain, he left them to command the siege of Marseilles—Brutus by sea, Trebonius by land; in which they acquitted themselves with the greatest courage and ability, and reduced that strong place to the necessity of surrendering at discretion. Decimus was of the same family with his name-sake, Marcus; and Cæsar, as if jealous of a name that inspired an aversion to kings, was particularly solicitous to gain them both to his interest, and seemed to have succeeded to his wish in Decimus; who forwardly embraced his friendship, and accepted all his favours; being named by him to the command of Cisalpine Gaul, and to the consulship of the following year, and the second heir even of his estate, in failure of the first. He seems to have had no peculiar character of virtue, or patriotism, nor any correspondence with Cicero, before the act of killing Cæsar; so that people, instead of expecting it from him, were surprised at his doing it; yet he was brave, generous, magnificent, and lived with great splendour, in the enjoyment of an immense fortune; for he kept a numerous band of gladiators, at his own expense, for the diversion of the city; and, after Cæsar's death,

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ταυτν. [Ap. 2. 483. it. Dio, l. 42. 188. Sueton. J. Cæs. 63.] C. Cassius—sine his clarissimis viris hanc rem in Cilicia ad ostium fluminis Cydni confecisset, si ille ad eam ripam, quam constituerat, non ad contrariam naves appulisset. [Philip. 2. 11.] e quibus Brutum amicum habere malles, inimicum magis timeres Cassium. [Vell. Pat. 2. 72.] ἰδοὺ vero et ἀταραξίαν virtute, justitia, τῷ καλῷ parari, et verum et probabile est. Ipse enim Epicurus—dicit οὐκ ἔστιν ἡδέως ἄνευ τοῦ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως, ζῆν. [Ep. Fam. 15. 19.] Cassius tota vita aquam bibit. [Senec. 547.] Quanquam quicum loquor? cum uno fortissimo viro; qui postea quam forum attigisti, nihil fecisti nisi plenissimum amplissimæ dignitatis. In ista ipsa αἱρέσει metuo ne plus nervorum sit, quam ego putarim, si modo eam tu probas. [Ep. Fam. 15. 16.] Differendo Consulatum Cassium offenderat. Vell. Pat. 2. 36. it. Plut. in Brut. App. 408.

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spent about four hundred thousand pounds of his own money, in maintaining an army against Antony.*

Trebonius had no family to boast of, but was wholly a new man, and the creature of Cæsar's power, who produced him, through all the honours of the state, to his late consulship of three months. Antony calls him the son of a buffoon; but Cicero, of a splendid knight. He was a man of parts, prudence, integrity, humanity; was conversant also in the politer arts, and had a peculiar turn to wit and humour; for, after Cæsar's death, he published a volume of Cicero's sayings, which he had taken the pains to collect; upon which Cicero compliments him, for having explained them with great elegance, and given them a fresh force and beauty, by his humourous manner of introducing them. As the historians have not suggested any reason that should move either him or Decimus to the resolution of killing a man, to whom they were infinitely obliged, so we may reasonably impute it, as Cicero does, to a greatness of soul, and superior love of their country, which made them prefer the liberty of Rome to the friendship of any man; and choose rather to be the destroyers, than the partners of a tyranny.†

The rest of the conspirators were partly young men, of noble blood, eager to revenge the ruin of their fortunes and families: partly men obscure, and unknown to the public;‡ yet, whose fidelity

* Adjectis etiam consiliariis cædis, familiarissimis omnium, et fortuna partium ejus in summum evectis fastigium, D. Bruto et C. Trebonio, aliisque clari nominis viris. [Vell. Pat. 2. 56.] Pluresque percursorum in tutoribus filii nominavit: Decimum Brutum etiam in secundis heredibus. [Sueton. J. Cæs. 83.] Vid. Cæs. Comm. de Bell. civil. l. 2. Plut. in Brut. App. p. 497. 518. Dio, l. 44. 247, &c. D. Brutus—cum Cæsaris primus omnium amicorum fuisset, interfector fuit. Vell. Pat. 2. 64.

† Scurræ filium appellat Antonius. Quasi vero ignotis nobis fuerit splendidus Eques Romanus Trebonii pater. [Philip. 13. 10.] Trebonii—consilium, ingenium, humanitatem, innocentiam, magnitudinem animi in patria liberanda quis ignorat? [Philip. xi. 4.] liber iste, quem mihi misisti, quantam habet declarationem amoris tui? primum, quod tibi facetum videtur quicquid ego dixi, quod aliis fortasse non item: deinde, quod illa sive faceta sunt, sive sic fiunt narrante te venustissima. Quin etiam antequam ad me veniatur, risus omnis pæne consumitur, &c. [Ep. Fam. 15. 21. it. 12. 16.] Qui libertatem populi Romani unius amicitiæ præposuit, depulsorque dominatus, quam particeps esse maluit. Philip. 2. 11.

‡ In tot hominibus, partim obscuris, partim adolescentibus, &c. Philip. 2. 11.

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and courage had been approved by Brutus and Cassius. It was agreed by them all, in council, to execute their design in the senate, which was summoned to meet on the Ides, or fifteenth of March: they knew, that the senate would applaud it when done, and even assist, if there was occasion, in the doing it;* and there was a circumstance which peculiarly encouraged them, and seemed to be even ominous; that it happened to be Pompey's senate-house, in which their attempt was to be made, and where Cæsar would, consequently, fall at the foot of Pompey's statue, as a just sacrifice to the manes of that great man.† They took it also for granted, that the city would be generally on their side, yet, for their greater security, D. Brutus gave orders to arm his gladiators that morning, as if for some public show, that they might be ready, on the first notice, to secure the avenues of the senate, and defend them from any sudden violence; and Pompey's theatre, which adjoined to his senate-house, being the properest place for the exercise of the gladiators, would cover all suspicion that might otherwise arise from them. The only deliberation that perplexed them, and on which they were much divided, was, whether they should not kill Antony also, and Lepidus, together with Cæsar; especially Antony, the more ambitious of the two, and the more likely to create fresh danger to the commonwealth. Cassius, with a majority of the company, was warmly for killing him; but the two Brutuses as warmly opposed, and finally overruled it; they alleged, that to shed more blood than was necessary, would disgrace their cause, and draw upon them an imputation of cruelty; and of acting not as patriots, but as the partisans of Pompey; not so much to free the city, as to revenge themselves on their enemies, and get

* ὡς τῶν βουλευτῶν, εἰ καὶ μὴ προμάθοιεν, προθύμως, ὅτε ἴδοιεν τὸ ἔργον, συμπιλησομένων. App. 499.

† Postquam Senatus idibus Martiis in Pompeii curiam edictus est, facile tempus et locum prætulerunt. Sueton. 80.

the dominion of it into their hands. But what weighed with them the most, was a vain persuasion, that Antony would be tractable, and easily reconciled, as soon as the affair was over: but this lenity proved their ruin; and, by leaving their work imperfect, defeated all the benefit of it; as we find Cicero afterwards often reproaching them in his letters.*

Many prodigies are mentioned by the historians to have given warning of Cæsar's death:† which, having been forged by some, and credulously received by others, were copied, as usual, by all, to strike the imagination of their readers, and raise an awful attention to an event, in which the gods were supposed to be interested. Cicero has related one of the most remarkable of them; that as Cæsar was sacrificing, a little before his death, with great pomp and splendour, in his triumphal robes, and golden chair, the victim, which was a fat ox, was found to be without a heart: and when Cæsar seemed to be shocked at it, Spurinna, the Haruspex, admonished him to beware, lest through a failure of counsel, his life should be cut off, since the heart was the seat and source of them both. The next day, he sacrificed again, in hopes to find the entrails more propitious; but the liver of the bullock appeared to want its head, which was reckoned also among the direful omens.‡ These facts, though ridiculed by Ci-

* Plut. in Cæs. App. 499. 502. Dio, 247, 248. Quam vellem ad illas pulcherrimas epulas me Idibus Martiis invitasses. Reliquiarum nihil haberemus. Ep. Fam. x. 28. 12. 4. ad Brut. 2. 7.

† Sed Cæsari futura cædes evidentibus prodigiis denunciata est, &c. Sueton. 81. Plut. in vit.

‡ De Divin. 1. 52. 2. 16. These cases of victims found sometimes without a heart or liver, gave rise to a curious question among those who believed the reality of this kind of divination, as the stoics generally did, how to account for the cause of so strange a phænomenon. The common solution was, that the gods made such changes instantaneously, in the moment of sacrificing, by annihilating or altering the condition of the entrails so, as to make them correspond with the circumstances of the sacrificer, and the admonition which they intended to give. [De Divin. ib.] But this was laughed at by the naturalists, as wholly unphilosophical, who thought it absurd to imagine, that the Deity could either annihilate or create; either reduce any thing to nothing, or form any thing out of nothing. What seems the most pro-

cero, were publicly affirmed and believed at the time, and seem to have raised a general rumour through the city, of some secret danger that threatened Cæsar's life; so that his friends, being alarmed at it, were endeavouring to instil the same apprehension into Cæsar himself; and had succeeded so far, as to shake his resolution of going that day to the senate, when it was actually assembled, by his summons, in Pompey's senate-house; till D. Brutus, by rallying those fears, as unmanly and unworthy of him, and alleging, that his absence would be interpreted as an affront to the assembly, drew him out against his will, to meet his destined fate.*

In the morning of the fatal day, M. Brutus and C. Cassius appeared, according to custom, in the Forum, sitting in their prætorian tribunals, to hear and determine causes; where, though they had daggers under their gowns, they sat with the same calmness, as if they had nothing upon their minds; till the news of Cæsar's coming out to the senate called them away to the performance of their part in the tragical act, which they executed, at last, with such resolution, that, through the eagerness of stabbing Cæsar, they wounded even one another.†

Thus fell Cæsar, on the celebrated Ides of March, after he had advanced himself to a height of power, which no conqueror had ever attained before him; though, to raise the mighty fabric, he had made more desolation in the world, than any man, perhaps, who ever lived in it. He used to say, that his conquests in Gaul had cost about a million and two hundred thousand lives;‡ and if we add the civil wars to the

bable, is, that if the facts really happened, they were contrived by Cæsar's friends, and the heart conveyed away by some artifice, to give them a better pretence of enforcing their admonitions, and putting Cæsar upon his guard against dangers, which they really apprehended, from quite different reasons, than the pretended denunciations of the gods.

* Plut. in J. Cæs.

† Ib. in Brut. App. 2. 505.

‡ Undecies centena et nonaginta duo hominum millia occisa præliis ab eo—quod

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account, they could not cost the Republic much less, in the more valuable blood of its best citizens: yet when, through a perpetual course of faction, violence, rapine, slaughter, he had made his way at last to empire, he did not enjoy the quiet possession of it above five months.*

He was endowed with every great and noble quality that could exalt human nature, and give a man the ascendant in society: formed to excel in peace, as well as war: provident in counsel; fearless in action; and executing what he had resolved with an amazing celerity: generous beyond measure to his friends; placable to his enemies; and for parts, learning, eloquence, scarce inferior to any man. His orations were admired for two qualities, which are seldom found together, strength and elegance: Cicero ranks him among the greatest orators that Rome ever bred: and Quintilian says, that he spoke with the same force with which he fought; and if he had devoted himself to the bar, would have been the only man capable of rivalling Cicero. Nor was he a master only of the politer arts, but conversant also with the most abstruse and critical parts of learning; and, among other works which he published, addressed two books to Cicero, on the analogy of language, or the art of speaking and writing correctly.† He was a most liberal patron of wit and learning, whereso-ever they were found; and, out of his love of those talents, would readily pardon those who had employed them against himself; rightly judging, that by making such men his friends, he should draw praises from the same fountain, from which he had

ita esse confessus est ipse, bellorum civilium stragem non prodendo. Plin. Hist. 7. 25.

* Neque illi tanto viro—plusquam quinque mensium principalis quies contigit. Vell. Pat. 2. 56.

† It was in the dedication of this piece to Cicero, that Cæsar paid him the compliment, which Pliny mentions, of his having acquired a laurel, superior to that of all triumphs, as it was more glorious to extend the bounds of the Roman wit, than of their empire. Hist. N. 7. 30.

been aspersed. His capital passions were ambition, and love of pleasure, which he indulged in their turns to the greatest excess: yet the first was always predominant, to which he could easily sacrifice all the charms of the second, and draw pleasure even from toils and dangers, when they ministered to his glory. For he thought tyranny, as Cicero says, the greatest of goddesses, and had frequently in his mouth a verse of Euripides, which expressed the image of his soul, that if right and justice were ever to be violated, they were to be violated for the sake of reigning. This was the chief end and purpose of his life; the scheme that he had formed from his early youth; so that, as Cato truly declared of him, he came with sobriety and meditation to the subversion of the Republic. He used to say, that there were two things necessary to acquire and to support power—soldiers and money, which yet depended mutually on each other: with money, therefore, he provided soldiers, and with soldiers extorted money: and was of all men the most rapacious in plundering both friends and foes; sparing neither prince nor state, nor temple, nor even private persons, who were known to possess any share of treasure. His great abilities would necessarily have made him one of the first citizens of Rome; but, disdaining the condition of a subject, he could never rest till he had made himself a monarch. In acting this last part, his usual prudence seemed to fail him, as if the height, to which he was mounted, had turned his head, and made him giddy; for, by a vain ostentation of his power, he destroyed the stability of it; and, as men shorten life by living too fast, so, by an intemperance of reigning, he brought his reign to a violent end.*

* De Cæsare et ipse ita judico—illum omnium fere Oratorum latine loqui elegantissime—et id—multis litteris, et iis quidem reconditis et exquisitis, summoque studio ac diligentia est consecutus.—[Brut. 370.] C. vero Cæsar si foro tantum vacasset, non aliis ex nostris contra Ciceronem nominaretur, tanta in eo vis est, id

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It was a common question after his death, and proposed as a problem by Livy, whether it was of service to the Republic that he had ever been born.* The question did not turn on the simple merit of his acts, for that would bear no dispute, but on the accidental effects of them; their producing the settlement under Augustus, and the benefits of that government, which was the consequence of his tyranny. Suetonius, who treats the characters of the Cæsars with that freedom, which the happy reigns in which he lived indulged, upon balancing the exact sum of the virtues and vices, declares him, on the whole, to have been justly killed;† which appears to have been the general sense of the best, the wisest, and the most disinterested in Rome, at the time when the fact was committed.

The only question which seemed to admit any dispute was, whether it ought to have been committed by those who were the leaders in it;‡ some of whom owed their lives to Cæsar, and others had been loaded by him with honours to a degree that helped to increase the popular odium; particularly

acumen, ea concitatio, ut illum eoden animo dixisse, quo bellavit, appareat. [Quintil. x. 1.] C. Cæsar, in libris, quos ad M. Ciceronem de analogia conscripsit.—[A. Gell. 19. 8.] Quin etiam in maximis occupationibus cum ad te ipsum, inquit, de ratione latiné loquendi accuratissime scripserit. [Brut. 370. vid. it. Sueton. 56.] In Cæsare hæc sunt, mitis, clemensque natura—accedit, quod mirifice ingeniis excellentibus, quale tuum est, delectatur—eodum fonte se hausturum intelligit laudes suas, e quo sit leviter aspersus. [Ep. Fam. 6. 6.] τὴν θεὸν μεγίστην ὥστ' ἔχειν τυραννίδα. [Ad. Att. 7. 11.] Ipse autem in ore semper græcos versus de Phœnissis habebat——

Nam si violandum est jus, regnandi gratia
Violandum est: aliis rebus pietatem colas.

[Offic. 3. 21.]

Cato dixit, C. Cæsarem ad evertendam Rempublicam, sobrium accessisse. [Quintil. 1. 8. 2.] Abstinentiam neque in imperiis neque in magistratibus præstitit—in Gallia fana, templaque Deum donis referta expilavit: urbes diruit, sæpius ob prædam quam delictum—evidentissimis rapinis, ac sacrilegiis onera bellorum civilium—sustinuit. Sueton. c. 54. vid. it. Dio, p. 208.

* Vid. Senec. Natur. Quæst. l. 5. 18. p. 766.

† Prægravant tamen cetera facta, dictaque ejus, ut et abusus dominatione et jure cæsus existimetur. Sueton. c. 76

‡ Disputari de M. Bruto solet, an debuerit accipere a D. Julio vitam, cum occidendum eum judicaret. Senec. de Benef. l. 2. 20.

D. Brutus, who was the most cherished by him of them all, and left by his will, the second heir of his estate:* for, of the two Brutuses, it was not Marcus, as it is commonly imagined, but Decimus, who was the favourite, and whose part in the conspiracy surprised people the most.† But this circumstance served only for a different handle to the different parties, for aggravating either their crime or their merit. Cæsar's friends charged them with base ingratitude, for killing their benefactor, and abusing the power which he had given, to the destruction of the giver. The other side gave a contrary turn to it, extolled the greater virtue of the men, for not being diverted, by private considerations, from doing an act of public benefit: Cicero takes it always in this view, and says that the Republic was the more indebted to them, for preferring the common good to the friendship of any man whatsoever; that, as to the kindness of giving them their lives, it was the kindness only of a robber, who had first done them the greater wrong, by usurping the power to take it: that, if there had been any stain of ingratitude in the act, they could never have acquired so much glory by it; and though he wondered, indeed, at some of them, for doing it, rather than ever imagined that they would have done it; yet he admired them so much the more, for being regardless of favours, that they might shew their regard to their country.‡

Some of Cæsar's friends, particularly Pansa and

* Appian. 2. 518.

† Etsi est enim Brutorum commune factum et laudis societas æqua, Decimo tamen iratiores erant ii, qui id factum dolebant, quo minus ab eo rem illam dicebant fieri debuisse. Philip. x. 7.

‡ Quod est aliud beneficium—latronum, nisi ut commemorare possint, iis se dedisse vitam, quibus non ademerint? quod si esset beneficium, nunquam ii qui illum interfecerunt, a quo erant servati,—tantam essent gloriam consecuti. Philip. 2. 3.

Quo etiam majorem ei Respub. gratiam debet, qui libertatem populi Romani unius amicitiæ præposuit, depulsorque dominatus quam particeps esse maluit—admiratus suum ob eam causam, quod immemor beneficiorum, memor patriæ fuisset. Ib. 11.

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Hirtius, advised him always to keep a standing guard of prætorian troops, for the defence of his person; alleging that a power acquired by arms must necessarily be maintained by arms; but his common answer was, that he had rather die once by treachery, than live always in fear of it.* He used to laugh at Sylla, for restoring the liberty of the Republic, and to say, in contempt of him, that he did not know his letters.† But, as a judicious writer has observed, Sylla had learnt a better grammar than he, which taught him to resign his guards and his government together: whereas Cæsar, by dismissing the one, yet retaining the other, committed a dangerous solecism in politics:‡ for he strengthened the popular odium, and consequently his own danger, while he weakened his defence.

He made several good laws during his administration, all tending to enforce the public discipline and extend the penalties of former laws.—The most considerable, as well as the most useful, of them was, that no prætor should hold any province more than one year, nor a consul more than two.§ This was a regulation that had been often wished for, as Cicero says, in the best of times, and what one of the ablest dictators of the old Republic had declared to be its chief security, not to suffer great and arbitrary commands to be of long duration, but to limit them at least in time, if it was not convenient to limit them in power:‖ Cæsar knew, by experience,

* Laudandum experientiâ consilium est Pansæ atque Hirtii: qui semper prædixerant Cæsari, ut principatum armis quæsitum armis teneret. Ille dictitans, mori se quam timeri malle. Vell. Patt. 2. 57.

Insidias undique imminentes subire semel confessum satius esse, quam cavere semper. Sueton. c. 86.

† Nec minoris impotentiæ voces propalam edebat.—Syllam nescisse litteras, qui Dictaturam deposuerit. Sueton. 77.

‡ Vid. Sir H. Savile's Dissertat. de Militia Rom. at the end of his translation of Tacitus.

§ Philip. 1. 8. Sueton. J. Cæs. 42. 43.

‖ Quæ lex melior, utilior, optima etiam Reipub. sæpius flagitata, quam ne Prætoriæ provinciæ plus quam annum, neve plus quam biennium consulares obtinerentur? Philip. 1. 8.

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that the prolongation of these extraordinary commands, and the habit of ruling kingdoms, was the readiest way, not only to inspire a contempt of the laws, but to give a man the power to subvert them; and he hoped, therefore, by this law, to prevent any other man from doing what he himself had done, and to secure his own possession from the attempts of all future invaders.

SECTION IX.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss.—M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

Cicero was present at the death of Cæsar in the senate; where he had the pleasure, he tells us, to see the tyrant perish as he deserved.* By this accident, he was freed at once from all subjection to a superior, and all the uneasiness and indignity of managing a power, which every moment could oppress him. He was now, without competition, the first citizen in Rome; the first in that credit and authority both with the senate and people, which illustrious merit and services will necessarily give in a free city. The conspirators considered him as such, and reckoned upon him as their sure friend: for they had no sooner finished their work, than Brutus, lifting up his bloody dagger, called out upon him by name, to congratulate with him on the recovery of their liberty:† and when they all ran out, presently after, into the Forum, with their daggers in their hands, proclaiming liberty to the city, they

Mamercus Æmilius—maximam autem, ait, ejus custodiam esse, si magna imperia diuturna non essent, et temporis modus imponeretur, quibus juris imponi non posset. Liv. l. 4. 24.

* Quid mihi attulerit ista domini mutatio, præter lætitiam quam oculis cepi, justo interitu Tyranni? Ad Att. 14. 14.

† Cæsare interfecto —statim cruentum alte extollens M. Brutus pugionem, Ciceronem nominatim exclamavit, atque ei recuperatam libertatem est gratulatus. Philip. 2. 12.

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proclaimed, at the same time, the name of Cicero; in hopes to recommend the justice of their act by the credit of his approbation.*

This gave Antony a pretence to charge him afterwards, in public, with being privy to the conspiracy, and the principal adviser of it:† but it is certain that he was not at all acquainted with it; for though he had the strictest friendship with the chief actors, and they the greatest confidence in him, yet his age, character, and dignity, rendered him wholly unfit to bear a part in an attempt of that nature, and to embark himself in an affair so desperate, with a number of men, who, excepting a few of their leaders, were all either too young to be trusted, or too obscure, even to be known by him.‡ He could have been of little or no service to them in the execution of the act, yet of much greater in justifying it afterwards to the city, for having had no share in it, nor any personal interest, to make his authority suspected. These were the true reasons, without doubt, why Brutus and Cassius did not impart the design to him: had it been from any other motive, as some writers have suggested, or had it admitted any interpretation injurious to his honour, he must have been often reproached with it by Antony, and his other adversaries of those times, who were so studius to invent and propagate every calumny that could depress his credit. I cannot, however, entirely acquit him of being, in some degree, accessary to the death of Cæsar: for it is evident, from several of his letters, that he had an expectation of such an attempt, and from what quarter it would come; and not only expected, but wished it: he prophesied, very early, that Cæsar's reign could not last

* Dio, p. 249.

† Cæsarem meo consilio interfectum. [Philip. 2. 11.] Vestri enim pulcherrimi facti ille furiosus me principem dicit fuisse. Utinam quidem fuissem, molestus nobis non esset. Ep. Fam. 12. 3. it. 2.

‡ Quam verisimile porro est, in tot hominibus partim obscuris, partim adolescentibus, neminem occultantibus, meum nomen latere potuisse? Philip. 2. 11.

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six months, but must necessarily fall, either by violence, or of itself; and hoped to live to see it:* he knew the disaffection of the greatest and best of the city: which they expressed with great freedom in their letters, and with much more, we may imagine, in their private conversation; he knew the fierce and haughty spirit of Brutus and Cassius, and their impatience of a master; and cultivated a strict correspondence with them both, at this time, as if for the opportunity of exciting them to some act of vigour. On the news, that Atticus sent him, of Cæsar's image being placed in the temple of Quirinus, adjoining to that of the goddess Salus; "I had ra-"ther," says he, "have him the comrade of Romu-"lus, than of the goddess Safety:"† referring to Romulus's fate of being killed in the senate. In another letter, it seems to be intimated, that Atticus and he had been contriving, or talking at least together, how Brutus might be spirited up to some attempt of that kind, by setting before him the fame and glory of his ancestors: "Does Brutus then tell "us," says he, "that Cæsar brings with him glad ti-"dings to honest men? where will he find them? "unless he hangs himself. But how securely is he "now entrenched on all sides? What use then of "your fine invention; the picture of old Brutus and "Ahala with the verses under, which I saw in your "gallery? Yet, what after all can he do?"‡ One

* Jam intelliges id regnum vix semestre esse posse—nos tamen hoc confirmamus illo augurio, quo diximus: nec nos fallit, nec aliter accidet. Corruat iste necesse est, aut per adversarios, aut ipse per se—id spero vivis nobis fore. Ad Att. x. 8.

† Eum σύναον Quirino malo, quam Saluti. Ad Att. 12. 15.

‡ Itane nunciat Brutus, illum ad bonos viros εὐαγγέλια sed ubi eos? nisi forte se suspendit? hic autem ut fultum est! ubi igitur θιλοτέχνημα illud tuum quod vidi in Parthenone, Ahalam et Brutum? sed quid faciat? Ad Att. 13. 40.

Parthenone is supposed to denote some room or gallery in Brutus's, or more probably in Atticus's house, adorned with the images or portraits of the great men of Rome, under each of which, as Cornelius Nepos tells us, [in vit. Att. c. 18.] Atticus had severally described their principal acts and honours, in four or five verses of his own composing; where the contemplation of these figures of old Brutus and Ahala, joined together in one picture, with the verses under, had given a handle perhaps to a conversation between Cicero and him, how Brutus might be incited, by the example of those great ancestors, to dissolve the tyranny of Cæsar. It seems

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cannot help observing, likewise, in his pieces addressed about this time to Brutus, how artfully he falls into a lamentation of the times, and of the particular unhappiness of Brutus himself, in being deprived by them of all the hopes and use of his great talents; putting him in mind, at the same time, of his double descent from ancestors, who had acquired immortal glory by delivering Rome from servitude. Thus he concludes his treatise on famous orators.

"When I look upon you, Brutus, I am grieved to "see your youth, running, as it were, in full career "through the midst of glory, stopped short by the "wretched fate of your country. This grief sits "heavy upon me, and on our common friend Atti-"cus, the partner of my affection, and good opi-"nion of you: we heartily wish you well; wish to "see you reap the fruit of your virtue, and to live in "a republic, that may give you the opportunity "not only to revive, but to increase the honour and "memory of the two noble families from which you "descend;—for the Forum was wholly your's; your's "all that course of glory: you, of all the young "pleaders brought thither, not only a tongue ready "formed by the exercise of speaking, but had en-"riched your oratory by the furniture also of the "severer arts: and, by the help of the same arts, "had joined to a perfection of eloquence the orna-"ment of every virtue. We are doubly sorry, "therefore, on your account, that you want the "benefit of the republic;—the republic of you: "but though this odious ruin of the city extinguishes "the use of your abilities, go on still, Brutus, to "pursue your usual studies," &c.

also, very probable, that this very picture of Atticus's invention, as Cicero calls it, might give occasion to the thought and coinage of that silver medal or denarius, which is still extant with the heads and names of those two old patriots; Brutus on the one side, Ahala on the other. Vid. Thesaur. Morell. in Fam. Junia. Tab. 1. 1.

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These passages seem to give a reasonable ground to believe that Cicero, though a stranger to the particular counsels of the conspirators, had yet a general notion of their design, as well as some share in promoting it. In his reply to Antony's charge, he does not deny his expectation of it, freely owns his joy for it, and thanks him for giving him an honour, which he had not merited, of bearing a part in it. He calls it the most glorious act which had ever been done, not only in that, but in any other city; in which men were more forward to claim a share which they had not, than to dissemble that which they had: that Brutus's reason for not calling upon him, was to signify, that he was then emulating his praises, by an act, not unlike to what he had done: that if to wish Cæsar's death was a crime, to rejoice at it was the same; there being no difference between the adviser and the approver: yet, excepting Antony, and a few more, who were fond of having a king, that there was not a man in Rome who did not desire to see the fact committed; that all honest men, as far as it was in their power, concurred in it; that some, indeed, wanted the counsel, some the courage, some the opportunity, but none the will to do it,* &c.

The news of this surprising fact raised a general consternation through the city; so that the first care of the conspirators was to quiet the minds of the people, by proclaiming peace and liberty to all, and declaring that no farther violence was intended to any. They marched out, therefore, in a body, with a cap, as the ensign of liberty, carried before them on a spear,† and, in a calm and orderly man-

* Ecquis est igitur, qui te excepto, et iis, qui illum regnare gaudebant, qui illud aut fieri nolueri, aut factum improbarit? omnes enim in culpa. Etenim omnes boni, quantum in ipsis fuit, Cæsarem occiderunt. Aliis consilium, aliis animus, aliis occasio defuit; voluntas nemini, &c. Philip. 2. 12.

† A cap was always given to slaves, when they were made free; whence it became the emblem of liberty: to expose it, therefore, on a spear, was a public invitation to the people, to embrace the liberty that was offered to them by the destruction of their

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ner, proceeded through the Forum; where, in the first heat of joy, for the death of the tyrant, several of the young nobility, who had borne no part in the conspiracy, joined themselves to the company, with swords in their hands, out of an ambition to be thought partners in the act; but they paid dear, afterwards, for that vanity, and, without any share of the glory, were involved in the ruin which it drew upon all the rest. Brutus designed to have spoken to the citizens from the rostra; but, perceiving them to be in too great an agitation to attend to speeches, and being uncertain what way the popular humour might turn, and knowing that there were great numbers of Cæsar's old soldiers in the city, who had been summoned from all parts to attend him to the Parthian war, he thought proper, with his accomplices, under the guard of Decimus's gladiators, to take refuge in the capitol.* Being here secured from any immediate violence, he summoned the people thither in the afternoon; and in a speech to them, which he had prepared, justified his act, and explained the motives of it, and in a pathetic manner, exhorted them to exert themselves in the defence of their country, and maintain the liberty now offered to them, against all the abettors of the late tyranny. Cicero presently followed them into the capitol, with the best and greatest part of the senate, to deliberate on the proper means of improving this hopeful beginning, and establishing their liberty on a solid and lasting foundation.

Antony, in the mean while, shocked by the har-

tyrant. There was a medal likewise struck on this occasion, with the same device, which is still extant. The thought, however, was not new; for Saturninus, in his sedition, when he had possessed himself of the capitol, exalted a cap also on the top of a spear, as a token of liberty to all the slaves, who would join with him; and though Marius, in his sixth consulship, destroyed him for that act, by a decree of the senate, yet he himself used the same expedient afterwards to invite the slaves to take arms with him against Sylla, who was marching with his army into the city, to attack him. Val. Max. 8. 6.

* App. 2. p. 503. Dio, p. 250. Plut. in Cæs. et Brut.

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diness of the act, and apprehending some danger to his own life, stripped himself of his consular robes, and fled home in disguise, where he began to fortify his house, and kept himself close all that day,* till, perceiving the pacific conduct of the conspirators, he recovered his spirits, and appeared again the next morning in public.

While things were in this situation, L. Cornelius Cinna, one of the prætors who was nearly allied to Cæsar, made a speech to the people in praise of the conspirators; extolling their act as highly meritorious, and exhorting the multitude to invite them down from the capitol, and reward them with the honours due to the deliverers of their country; then, throwing off his prætorian robe, he declared that he would not wear it any longer, as being bestowed upon him by a tyrant, and not by the laws. But the next day, as he was going to the senate, some of Cæsar's veteran soldiers, having gathered a mob of the same party, attacked him in the streets with vollies of stones, and drove him into a house, which they were going presently to set on fire, with design to have burnt him in it, if Lepidus had not come to his rescue with a body of regular troops. †

Lepidus was, at this time, in the suburbs of Rome, at the head of an army, ready to depart for the government of Spain, which had been assigned to him by Cæsar, with a part of Gaul. In the night, therefore, after Cæsar's death, he filled the Forum with his troops, and finding himself superior to any man in power, began to think of making himself master of the city, and taking immediate revenge on the conspirators; but, being a weak and vain man, Antony easily diverted him from that design, and managed him to his own views: he represented the

* Quæ tua fuga? quæ formido præclaro illo die? quæ propter conscientiam scelerum desperatio vitæ? cum ex illa fuga—clam te domum recepisti. Philip. 2. 35. Vid. Dio, p. 259. App. 502, 503.

† Plut. in Brut. App. p. 504.

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hazard and difficulty of the attempt, while the senate, the city, and all Italy were against them; that the only way to effect what they wished, was to dissemble their real purpose; to recommend pacific counsels, and lull their adversaries asleep, till they had provided a strength sufficient to oppress them; and that, as soon as things were ripe, he would join with him very heartily in avenging Cæsar's death. With these remonstrances he pacified him; and, to render their union the firmer, and to humour his vanity at the same time, gave his daughter in marriage to Lepidus' son, and assisted him to seize the high priesthood, vacant by Cæsar's death, without any regard to the ordinary forms of election.* Having thus gained Lepidus into his measures, he made use of his authority and his forces, to harass and terrify the opposite party, till he had driven the conspirators out of the city; and when he had served his purposes with him at home, contrived to send him to his government, to keep the provinces and the commanders abroad in proper respect to them; and that, by sitting down with his army in the nearest part of Gaul, he might be ready for any event, which should require his help in Italy.

The conspirators, in the meanwhile, had formed no scheme beyond the death of Cæsar; but seemed to be as much surprised and amazed at what they had done, as the rest of the city: they trusted entirely to the integrity of their cause; fancying that it would be sufficient of itself to effect all that they expected from it, and draw an universal concurrence to the defence of their common liberty; and taking it for granted that Cæsar's fate, in the height of all his greatness, would deter any of his partizans from aiming at the same power: they placed withal a great confidence in Cicero's authority, of which they assured themselves as their own, and were not

* Dio, p. 249, 250, 257, 269.

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disappointed; for, from this moment, he resolved, at all adventures, to support the credit of the men and their act, as the only means left of recovering the republic. He knew that the people were all on their side; and, as long as force was removed, that they were masters of the city. His advice, therefore, was, to use their present advantage, and, in the consternation of Cæsar's party, and the zeal and union of their own, that Brutus and Cassius, as prætors, should call the senate into the capitol, and proceed to some vigorous decrees, for the security of the public tranquillity.* But Brutus was for marching calmly, and with all due respect to the authority of the consul; and, having conceived hopes of Antony, proposed the sending a deputation to him, to exhort him to measures of peace; Cicero remonstrated against it, nor would be prevailed with to bear a part in it; he told them, plainly, that there could be no safe treaty with him; that, as long as he was afraid of them, he would promise every thing; but, when his fears were over, would be like himself, and perform nothing: so that, while the other consular senators were going forwards and backwards in this office of mediation, he stuck to his point, and staid with the rest in the capitol, and did not see Antony for the two first days.†

The event confirmed what Cicero foretold: Antony had no thoughts of peace, or of any good to the republic; his sole view was to seize the government to himself, as soon as he should be in condition to do it: and then, on pretence of revenging Cæsar's death, to destroy all those who were likely to oppose him. As his business, therefore, was to

* Meministi me clamare, illo ipso primo Capitolino die, Senatum in Capitolium a Prætoribus vocari? Dii immortales, quæ tum opera effici potuerunt, lætantibus omnibus bonis, etiam sat bonis, fractis lutronibus? Ad Att. 14. 10.

† Dicebam illis in Capitolino liberatoribus nostris, cum me ad te ire vellent, ut ad defendendam Rempub. te adhortarer, quoad metueres, omnia te promissurum, simul ac timere desiisses, similem te futurum tui. Itaque cum cæteri Consulares irent, redirent, in sententia mansi; neque te illo die, neque postero, vidi. Philip. 2. 35.

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gain time, by dissembling and deceiving the republican party into a good opinion of him; so all his answers were mild and moderate, professing a sincere inclination to peace, and no other desire than to see the republic settled again on its old basis. Two days passed in mutual assurances, from both sides, of their disposition to concord and amity; and Antony summoned the senate on the third, to adjust the conditions of it, and confirm them by some solemn act. Here Cicero, as the best foundation of a lasting quiet, moved the assembly, in the first place, after the example of Athens, to decree a general amnesty, or act of oblivion, for all that was passed; to which they unanimously agreed. Antony seemed to be all goodness; talked of nothing but healing measures; and, for a proof of his sincerity, moved, that the conspirators should be invited to take part in their deliberations, and sent his son as an hostage for their safety: upon which they all came down from the capitol; and Brutus supped with Lepidus, Cassius with Antony, and the day ended to the universal joy of the city, who imagined that their liberty was now crowned with certain peace.*

There were several things, however, very artfully proposed and carried by Antony, on the pretence of public concord, of which he afterwards made a most pernicious use; particularly, a decree for the confirmation of all Cæsar's acts: this motion was suspected by many, who stuck upon it for some time, and called upon Antony to explain it, and

* In quo templo quantum in me fuit, jeci fundamenta pacis, Atheniensiumque renovavi vetus exemplum: græcum etiam verbum usurpavi, quo tum in secundis discordiis erat usa civitas illa, atque omnem memoriam discordiarum oblivione sempiterna delendam censui. Præclara tum oratio M. Antonii, egregia etiam voluntas: pax denique per eum et per liberos ejus cum præstantissimis civibus confirmata est. Philip. 1. 1.

Quæ fuit oratio de concordia?—tuus parvulus filius in Capitolium a te missus pacis obses fuit. Quo Senatus die lætior? quo populus Romanus?—tum denique liberati per viros fortissimos videbamur, quia, ut illi voluerant, libertatem pax sequebatur. Ib. 13. Vid. Plut. in Brut.—

specify who far it was to extend: he assured them, that no other acts were meant than what were known to every body, and entered publicly on Cæsar's register: they asked if any persons were to be restored from exile? He said, one only, and no more: whether any immunities were granted to cities or countries? He answered, none; and consented, that it should pass with a restriction, proposed by Ser. Sulpicius; that no grant, which was to take place after the Ides of March, should be ratified."* This was generally thought so reasonable, and Antony's seeming candour had made such an impression, that those who saw the mischief of it, durst not venture to oppose it: especially as there was a precedent for it in the case of Sylla; and, as it was supposed to relate chiefly to the veteran soldiers, whom it was not possible to oblige or keep in good humour, without confirming the privileges and possessions which Cæsar had granted to them. But Brutus and his friends had private reasons for entertaining a better opinion of Antony than his outward conduct would justify: Cæsar had used him roughly on several occasions;† and they knew his resentment of it; and that he had been engaged with Trebonius, on Cæsar's last return from Spain, in a design against his life: and, though he did not perform that engagement, yet they thought it an obligation, as well as a proof of his continuing in the same mind, that he had not discovered it, which was the reason of their sparing him, when Cæsar was killed, and of Trebonius's taking him aside, on pretence of business, lest his behaviour, on that occasion, might provoke them to kill him too.‡

* Summa constantia ad ea, quæ quæsita erant, respondebat: nihil tum, nisi quod erat notum omnibus, in C. Cæsaris commentariis reperiebatur: num qui exules restituti? unum aiebat, præterea neminem. Num immunitates datæ? nullæ, respondebat. Assentiri etiam nos Ser. Sulpicio voluit, ne qua tabula post Idus Martias ullius decreti Cæsaris aut beneficii figeretur. Philip. 1. 1.

† Philip. 2. 29.

‡ Quanquam si interfici Cæsarem voluisse crimen est, vide quæso, Antoni, quid

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But, as Cicero often laments, they had already ruined their cause, by giving Antony leisure to recollect himself, and gather troops about him, by which he forced upon them several other decrees against their will; one of them in favour of the veteran soldiers, whom he had drawn up, for that purpose, in arms about the senate:* and another still worse, for the allowance of a public funeral to Cæsar; which Atticus had been remonstrating against, both to Cicero and Brutus, as pernicious to the peace of the city; but it was too late to prevent it: Antony was resolved upon it, and had provided all things for it, as the best opportunity of inflaming the soldiers and the populace, and raising some commotions to the disadvantage of the Republican cause: in which he succeeded so well, that Brutus and Cassius had no small difficulty to defend their lives and houses from the violence of this mob.† In this tumult, Helvius Cinna, one of the tribunes, and a particular friend of Cæsar, was torn in pieces by the rabble; being mistaken, unluckily, for the prætor of that name, who, as it is said above, had extolled the act of killing Cæsar in a speech from the rostra: this so alarmed all those who had any similitude of name with any of the conspirators, that Caius Casca, another senator, thought fit, by a public advertisement, to signify the distinction of his person and principles from Publius Casca, who gave the first blow to Cæsar.‡

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tibi futurum sit, quem et Narbone hoc consilium cum C. Trebonio cepisse notissimum est, et ob ejus consilii societatem, cum interficeretur Cæsar, tum te a Trebonio vidimus sevocari. Ib. 14.

* Nonne omni ratione veterani, qui armati aderant, cum præsidii nos nihil haberemus, defendendi fuerunt? Ad Att. 14. 14.

† Meministine te clamare, causam periisse, si funere elatus esset? at ille etiam in foro combustus, laudatusque miserabiliter: servique et egentes in tecta nostra cum facibus immissi. Ad Att. 14. 10. 14. Plut. in Brut.

‡ C. Helvius Cinna Trib. pl. ex funere C. Cæsaris domum suam petens, populi manibus discerptus est, pro Cornelio Cinna, in quem sævire se existimabat, iratus ei, quod cum affinis esset Cæsaris, adversus eum nefarie raptum, impiam pro rostris, orationem habuisset. Val. Max. 9. 9. vid. Dio, p. 267, 268. it. Plut. in Cæs. et Brut.

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We are not to imagine, however, as it is commonly believed, that these violences were owing to the general indignation of the citizens against the murderers of Cæsar, excited either by the spectacle of his body, or the eloquence of Antony, who made the funeral oration: for, it is certain, that Cæsar, through his whole reign, could never draw from the people any public signification of their favour; but, on the contrary, was constantly mortified, by the perpetual demonstrations of their hatred and disaffection to him. The case was the same after his death: the memory of his tyranny was odious, and Brutus and Cassius, the real favourites of the city: as appeared on all occasions, wherever their free and genuine sense could be declared, in the public shows and theatres;* which Cicero frequently appeals to, as a proper encouragement to all honest men, to act with spirit and vigour, in the defence of their common liberty. What happened, therefore, at the funeral, was the effect of artifice and faction; the work of a mercenary rabble; the greatest part slaves and strangers, listed and prepared for violence, against a party unarmed, and pursuing pacific counsels, and placing all their trust and security in the justice of their cause. Cicero calls it a conspiracy of Cæsar's freedmen,† who were the chief managers of the tumult: in which the Jews seem to have borne a considerable part; who, out of hatred to Pompey, for his affront to their city and temple, were zealously attached to Cæsar, and, above all the other foreigners in Rome, distinguished themselves by the expressions of their grief for his death; so as to spend whole nights at his

* Omnes enim jam cives de Reipub. salute unâ et mente et voce consentiunt. Philip. 1. 9.

Quid enim gladiatoribus clamores innumerabilium civium; quid populi versus? quid Pompeii statuæ plausus infinitus? quid iis tribunis plebis, qui vobis adversantur? parumne hæc significant, incredibiliter consentientem populi Romani voluntatem? &c. Ib. 15. Ad Att. 14. 2.

† Nam ista quidem libertorum Cæsaris conjuratio facile opprimeretur, si recte saperet Antonius. Ad Att. 14. 5.

monument, in a kind of religious devotion to his memory.*

The first taste of Antony's perfidy was a clear warning to the conspirators what little reason they had to depend upon him, or to expect any safety in the city, where he had the sovereign command, without a guard for their defence; which, though D. Brutus demanded for them, they could not obtain: whilst Antony, to alarm them still the more, took care to let them know, that the soldiers and the populace were so enraged, that he did not think it possible for any of them to be safe.† They all, therefore, quitted Rome: Trebonius stole away privately for Asia, to take possession of that province, which had before been assigned to him; being afraid of being prevented by the intrigues of Antony: D. Brutus, for the same reason, possessed himself of the Cisalpine or Italic Gaul, which had been conferred upon him likewise by Cæsar, in order to strengthen himself there against all events, and by his neighbourhood to Rome, to encourage and protect all the friends of liberty: M. Brutus, accompanied by Cassius, retired to one of his villas near Lanuvium, to deliberate about their future conduct, and to take such measures, as the accidents of the times and the motions of their enemies should make necessary.

But as soon as the conspirators were gone, Antony resumed his mask, and, as if the late violences had been accidental only, and the sudden transport of a vile mob, professed the same moderation as before, and affected to speak with the greatest respect

* In summo publico luctu exterarum gentium, multitudo circulatim, suo quæque more, lamentata est, præcipueque Judæi, qui etiam noctibus continuis bustum frequentarunt. Sueton. J. Cæs. 84.

† Heri apud me Hirtius fuit; qua mente Antonius esset, demonstravit, pessima scilicet et infidelissima. Nam se neque mihi provinciam dare posse aiebat, neque arbitrari, tuto in urbe esse quemquam nostrum, adeo esse militum concitatos animos et plebis. Quorum utrumque esse falsum puto vos animadvertere—placitum est mihi postulare, ut liceret nobis esse Romæ publico præsidio: quod illos nobis concessuros non puto. Ep. Fam. xi. 1.

of Brutus and Cassius; and, by several seasonable acts, proposed by him to the senate, appeared to have nothing so much at heart as the public concord: among other decrees, he offered one, which was prepared and drawn up by himself, to abolish, for ever, the name and office of Dictator: this seemed to be a sure pledge of his good intentions, and gave an universal satisfaction to the senate; who passed it, as it were, by acclamation, without putting it even to the vote; and decreed the thanks of the house for it to Antony, who, as Cicero afterwards told him, had fixed an indelible infamy, by it, on Cæsar, in declaring to the world, that, for the odium of his government, such a decree was become both necessary and popular." *

Cicero also left Rome soon after Brutus and Cassius, † not a little mortified to see things take so wrong a turn, by the indolence of their friends; which gave him frequent occasion to say, that the Ides of March had produced nothing which pleased him, but the fact of the day; which was executed, indeed, with manly vigour, but supported by childish counsels. ‡ As he passed through the country, he found nothing but mirth and rejoicing in all the great towns, on the account of Cæsar's death: "It "is impossible to express," says he, "what joy there "is every where: how all people flock about me: "how greedy they are to hear an account of it from "me: yet, what strange politics do we pursue! "What a solecism do we commit! To be afraid of "those, whom we have subdued; to defend his "acts, for whose death we rejoice; to suffer ty-

* Dictaturam, quæ vim jam regiæ potestatis obsederat, funditùs e Repub. sustulit. De qua ne sententias quidem diximus—eique amplissimis verbis per S. C. gratias egimus—maximum autem illud, quod Dictaturæ nomen sustulisti: hæc inusta est, a te—mortuo Cæsari nota ad ignominiam sempiternam, &c. Philip. 1. 1, 15.

† Itaque cum teneri urbem a parricidis viderem, nec te in ea, nec Cassium tuto esse posse, eamque armis oppressam ab Antonio, mihi quoque ipsi esse excedendum putavi. Ad Brut. 15.

‡ Sed tamen adhuc me nihil delectat præter Idus martias. [Ad Att. 14. 6, 21.] Itaque stulta jam Iduum martiarum est consolatio. Animis enim usi sumus virilibus; consiliis, mihi crede, puerilibus. Ib. 15. 4.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss.—M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

" ranny to live, when the tyrant is killed; and the " republic to be lost, when our liberty is recovered."*

Atticus sent him word of some remarkable applause, which was given to the famed comedian, Publius, for what he had said upon the stage, in favour of the public liberty; and that L. Cassius, the brother of the conspirator, then one of the tribunes, was received with infinite acclamations upon his entrance into the theatre; † which convinced him only the more of the mistake of their friends in sitting still, and trusting to the merit of their cause, while their enemies were using all arts to destroy them. This general inclination, which declared itself so freely on the side of liberty, obliged Antony to act with caution, and, as far as possible, to persuade the city, that he was on the same side too: for which end he did another thing, at this time, both prudent and popular, in putting to death the impostor Marius, who was now returned to Rome, to revenge, as he gave out, the death of his kinsman Cæsar: where, signalising himself at the head of the mob, he was the chief incendiary at the funeral, and the subsequent riots, and threatened nothing less than destruction to the whole senate: but Antony, having served his main purpose with him, of driving Brutus and the rest out of the city, ordered him to be seized and strangled, and his body to be dragged through the streets: ‡ which gave him fresh credit with the republicans; so that Brutus, together with Cassius and other friends, had a personal conference with him about this time, which passed to mutual satisfaction.§

* Dici enim non potest quantopere gaudeant, ut ad me concurrant, ut audire cupiant verba mea ea de re—sic enim φιλολιτεύμεθα, ut victos metueremus—nihil enim tam σόλοικον quam τυραννοκτόνους in cœlo esse, Tyranni facta defendi. Ad Att. 14. 6.

O Dii boni! vivit tyrannis, tyrannus occidit. Ejus interfecti morte lætamur, cujus facta defendimus. Ib. 9.

† Ex priore theatrum, Publiumque cognovi, bona signa consentientis multitudinis. Plausus vero, L. Cassio datus facetus mihi quidem visus est. Ad Att. 14. 2.

Infinito fratris tui plausu dirumpitur. Ep Fam. 12. 2.

‡ Uncus impactus est fugitivo illi, qui C. Marii nomen invaserat. Philip. 13. 2.

§ Antonii colloquium cum nostris Heroibus pro re nata non incommodum. Ad Att. 14.

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By these arts, Antony hoped to amuse the conspirators, and induce them to lay aside all vigorous counsels; especially, what he most apprehended, that of leaving Italy, and seizing some provinces abroad, furnished with troops and money; which might put them into a condition to act offensively: with the same view he wrote an artful letter to Cicero, to desire his consent to the restoration of S. Clodius, the chief agent of P. Clodius, who had been several years in banishment, for outrages committed in the city; chiefly against Cicero himself, on whose account he was condemned. Antony, by his marriage with Fulvia, the widow of P. Clodius, became the protector of all that family, and the tutor of young Publius, her son; which gave him a decent pretence of interesting himself in this affair. He assures Cicero, that he had procured a pardon for S. Clodius from Cæsar; but did not intend to have made use of it, till he had obtained his consent: and, though he thought himself now obliged to support all Cæsar's acts, yet he would not insist on this against his leave—that it would be an obligation to young Publius, a youth of the greatest hopes, to let him see, that Cicero did not extend his revenge to his father's friends. "Permit me," says he, "to instil these sentiments into the boy; and "to persuade his tender mind, that quarrels are not "to be perpetuated in families: and though your "condition, I know, is superior to all danger; yet "you would chuse, I fancy, to enjoy a quiet and "honourable, rather than a turbulent old age. Lastly, "I have a sort of right to ask this favour of you; "since I never refused any thing to you: if I do "not however prevail with you, I will not grant it "to Clodius; that you may see how great your au"thority is with me: shew yourself the more plac"able on that account" *

* Ad Att. 14. after letter the 13th.

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Cicero never hesitated about giving his consent, to what Antony could and would have done without it: the thing itself he knew was scandalous, and the pardon said to be granted by Cæsar a forgery; and that Cæsar would never have done it, or suffered it to be done; and so many forgeries of that kind began to be published every day from Cæsar's books, that he was almost tempted, he says, to wish for Cæsar again.* He answered him, however, with great civility, and in a strain of complaisance which corresponded but little with his real opinion of the man: but Antony's public behaviour had merited some compliments: and, under the present state of his power, and the uncertain condition of their own party, Cicero resolved to observe all the forms of an old acquaintance with him; till, by some overt act against the public interest, he should be forced to consider him as an enemy.†

Antony made him but a cold reply; having heard, perhaps, in the mean time, of something which did not please him in his conduct. He told him only that his easiness and clemency were agreeable to him, and might, hereafter, be a great pleasure to himself. ‡

Cleopatra, the queen of Egypt, was in Rome when Cæsar was killed; but, being terrified by that accident, and the subsequent disorders of the city, she ran away presently, with great precipitation. Her authority and credit with Cæsar, in whose house she was lodged, made her insolence intolera-

* Antonius ad me scripsit de restitutione S. Clodii: quam honorifice quod ad me attinet, ex ipsius litteris cognosces—quam dissolute, quam turpiter, quamque ita perniciose, ut nonnunquam etiam Cæsar desiderandus esse videatur, facile existimabis; quæ enim Cæsar nunquam neque fecisset, neque passus esset, ea nunc ex falsis ejus commentariis proferuntur. Ego autem Antonio facillimum me præbui. Etenim ille, quoniam semel induxit in animum sibi licere quod vellet, fecisset nihilo minus me invito. Ad Att. 14. 13.

† Ego tamen Antonii inveteratam sine ulla offensione amicitiam retinere sane volo. Ep. Fam. 16. 23.

Cui quidem ego semper amicus fui, antequam illum intellexi non modo aperte, sed etiam libenter cum Repub. bellum gerere. Ib. xi. 5.

‡ Antonius ad me tantum de Clodio rescripsit, meam lenitatem et clementiam et sibi esse gratam et mihi magnæ voluptati fore. Ad Att. 14. 19.

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ble to the Romans, whom she seems to have treated on the same foot with her own Egyptians; as the subjects of absolute power, and the slaves of a master, whom she commanded. Cicero had a conference with her in Cæsar's gardens; where the haughtiness of her behaviour gave him no small offence. Knowing his taste and character, she made him the promise of some present, very agreeable, but disobliged him the more by not performing it: he does not tell us what it was; but from the hints which he drops, it seems to have been statues or curiosities from Egypt, for the ornament of his library; a sort of furniture which he was peculiarly fond of. But her pride being mortified by Cæsar's fate, she was now forced to apply to him, by her ministers, for his assistance in a particular suit, that she was recommending to the senate, in which he refused to be concerned. The affair seems to have related to her infant son, whom she pretended to be Cæsar's, and called by his name, and was labouring to get him acknowledged as such at Rome, and declared the heir of her kingdom, as he was, the year following, both by Antony and Octavius, though Cæsar's friends were generally scandalized at it, and Oppius thought it worth while to write a book, to prove that the child could not be Cæsar's.* Cleopatra had been waiting to accompany Cæsar into the east, in order to preserve her influence over him, which was very great; for, after his death, Helvius Cinna, one of the tribunes, owned, that he had a law ready prepared, and delivered to him by Cæsar, with orders to publish it, as soon as he was gone, for granting to him the liberty of taking what number of wives, and of what condition he thought fit, for the sake of propagating children.† This was contrived, pro-

* Quorum C. Oppius, quasi plane defensione ac patrocinio res egeret, librum edidit, non esse Cæsaris filium, quem Cleopatra dicat. Sueton. J. Cæs. 52. vid. Dio, p. 227, 345.

† Helvius Cinna—confessus est, habuisse se scriptam paratamque legem, quam Cæsar ferre jussisset cum ipse abesset, ut uxores liberorum quærendorum causa, quas et quot ducere veller, liceret. Sueton. ib. Dio, 243.

bably, to save Cleopatra's honour, and to legitimate his issue by her; since polygamy, and the marriage of a stranger, were prohibited by the laws of Rome.

Cicero touches these particulars in several places, though darkly and abruptly, according to the style of his Letters to Atticus. "The flight of the "queen," says he, "gives me no pain. I should be "glad to hear what farther news there is of her, and "her young Cæsar. I hate the queen: her agent, "Ammonius, the witness and sponsor of her pro-"mises to me, knows that I have reason: they were "things only proper for a man of letters, and suita-"ble to my character; so that I should not scruple "to proclaim them from the rostra. Her other agent, "Sara, is not only a rascal, but has been rude to "me. I never saw him at my house but once, and "when I asked him, civilly, what commands he had "for me, he said, that he came to look for Atticus. "As to the pride of the queen, when I saw her in "the gardens, I can never think of it without re-"sentment: I will have nothing, therefore, to do "with them: they take me to have neither spirit, nor "even feeling left."*

Antony having put his affairs into the best train that he could, and appointed the first of June for a meeting of the senate, in order to deliberate on the state of the Republic, took the opportunity of that interval to make a progress through Italy, for the sake of visiting the quarters of the veteran soldiers, and engaging them to his service, by all sorts of bribes and promises. He left the government of the city to Dolabella, whom Cæsar, upon his intended

* Reginæ fuga mihi non molesta. [Ad Att. 14. 8.] de Regina velim, atque etiam de Cæsare illo. [ib. 20.] Reginam odi. Me jure facere scit sponsor promissorum ejus Ammonius; quæ quidem erant φιλόλογα et dignitatis meæ, ut vel in concione dicere auderem. Saram autem, præterquam quod nefarium hominem cognovi, præterea in me contumacem. Semel eum omnino domi meæ vidi. Cum φιλοφρόνως ex eo quærerem, quid opus esset, Atticum se dixit quærere. Superbiam autem ipsius Reginæ, cum esset trans Tiberim in hortis, commemorare sine magno dolore non possum. Nihil igitur cum istis: nec tam animum me, quam vix stomachum habere arbitrantur. Ib. 15. 15.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss.—M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

expedition to Parthia, had designed and nominated to the consulship: and though Antony had protested against that designation, and resolved to obstruct its effect, yet, after Cæsar's death, when Dolabella, by the advantage of the general confusion, seized the ensigns of the office, and assumed the habit and character of the consul, Antony quietly received and acknowledged him as such, at the next meeting of the senate.*

Cicero had always kept up a fair correspondence with his son-in-law, though he had long known him to be void of all virtue and good principles: but he had now greater reason than ever for insinuating himself, as far as he was able, into his confidence, in order to engage him, if possible, to the interests of the republic, and use him as a check upon the designs of his colleague Antony; in which he had the greater prospect of success, on the account of their declared enmity to each other. Dolabella greatly confirmed these hopes; and, as soon as Antony had left the city, made all honest men think themselves sure of him, by exerting a most severe, as well as seasonable, act of discipline, upon the disturbers of the public tranquillity. For the mob, headed by the impostor Marius, and the freedmen of Cæsar, had erected an altar in the Forum, on the spot where Cæsar's body was burnt, with a pillar of Numidian marble, twenty feet high, inscribed to the father of his country. Here they performed daily sacrifices and divine rites, and the humour of worshipping at this new altar began to spread itself so fast among the meaner sort, and the slaves, as to endanger the peace and safety of the city: for the multitudes which flocked to the place, fired with a kind of enthusiastic rage, ran furious about the streets, committing all sorts of outrage and violence against the supposed friends of liberty. But Dolabella put an

* Tuum Collegam, depositis inimicitiis, oblitus auspicia, te ipso Augure nunciante, illo primo die Collegam tibi esse voluisti. Philip. 1. 13.

end to the evil at once, by demolishing the pillar and the altar, and seizing the authors of the disorders, and causing such of them as were free to be thrown down the Tarpeian rock, and the slaves to be crucified. This gave an universal joy to the city; the whole body of the people attended the consul to his house, and in the theatres gave him the usual testimony of their thanks, by the loudest acclamations.*

Cicero was infinitely pleased with this act, and enjoyed some share of the praise, since it was generally imputed to the influence of his counsels: in a letter upon it to Atticus: "O my admirable Dolabella!" says he, "I now call him mine; for, believe me, "I had some doubt of him before; the fact affords "matter of great speculation; to throw them down "the rock; to crucify; demolish the pillar; pave the "area; in short, it is heroic. He has extinguished "all appearance of that regret for Cæsar, which was "spreading every day so fast, that I began to appre- "hend some danger to our tyrant-killers: but I now "agree with you, and conceive better hopes," &c.† Again: "O the brave act of Dolabella! what a "prospect does it give us? I never cease praising "and exhorting him—our Brutus, I dare say, might "now walk safely through the Forum, with a crown "of gold upon his head; for who dares molest him, "when the rock or the cross is to be their fate? and "when the very lowest of the people give such "proofs of their applause and approbation?"‡ He

* Plebs—postea solidam columnam prope viginti pedum lapidis Numidici in Foro statuit, scripsitque Parenti Patriæ, apud eandem longo tempore sacrificaro, vota suscipere, controversias quasdam, interposito per Cæsarem jurejurando, distrahere perseveravit. Sueton. J. Cæs. 85.

Manabat enim illud malum urbanum, et ita corroborabatur quotidie; ut ego quidem et urbi et otio diffiderem urbano. Ep. Fam. 12. 1.

Nam cum serperet in urbe infinitum malum—et quotidie magis magisque perditi homines, cum sui similibus servis, tectis et templis urbis minarentur: talis animadversio fuit Dolabellæ, cum in audaces sceleratosque servos, tum in impuros et nefarios cives, talisque eversio illius execratæ columnæ, &c. Philip. 1. 2—recordare quæso, Dolabella, consensum illum theatri. Vid. ib. 12.

† Ad Att. 14. 15.

‡ O Dolabellæ nostri ἀριστείαν quanta est ἀναθεώρησις? equidem laudare eum et hortari non desisto—mihi quidem videtur Brutus noster jam vel coronam auream per

wrote, at the same time, from Baiæ, the following letter to Dolabella himself.

"CICERO TO DOLABELLA, CONSUL.

"Though I was content, my Dolabella, with "your glory, and reaped a sufficiency of pleasure "from it, yet I cannot but own, that it gives me "an inexpressible joy, to find the world ascribing "to me also some share in your praises. I have "met with nobody here, though I see so much com- "pany every day, (for there are many worthy men "now at this place, for the sake of their health, and "many of my acquaintance from the great towns) "who, after extolling you to the skies, does not "give thanks presently to me; not doubting, as "they all say, but it is by my precepts and advice, "that you now shew yourself to be this admirable "citizen, and singular consul: and though I could "assure them, with great truth, that what you are "doing flows wholly from yourself, and your own "judgment, and that you want not the advice of any "one; yet I neither wholly assent, lest I should de- "rogate from your merit, by making it seem to pro- "ceed from my counsel; nor do I strongly deny it, "being myself, perhaps, more greedy of glory than "I ought to be. But that can never be a diminu- "tion to you, which was an honour even to Aga- "memnon, the king of kings, to have a Nestor for "his counsellor; while it will be glorious to me, to "see a young consul, the scholar, as it were, of my "discipline, flourishing in the midst of applause. "L. Cæsar, when I visited him lately sick at Naples, "though oppressed with pain in every part of his "body, yet, before he had even saluted me, could "not forbear crying out, O my Cicero! I congra-

forum ferre posse; quis enim audeat violare, proposita cruce aut saxo? præsertim tantis plausibus, tanta approbatione infimorum? Ib. 16.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss.—M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

"tulate with you on account of the authority which
" you have with Dolabella; for if I had the same
" credit with my sister's son, Antony, we should all
" now be safe: but as to your Dolabella, I both con-
" gratulate with him, and thank him; since, from the
" time of your consulship, he is the only one, whom
" we can truly call a consul: he then enlarged upon
" your act, and the manner of it; and declared, that
" nothing was ever greater, nothing nobler, nothing
" more salutary to the state; and this, indeed, is
" the common voice of all. Allow me, therefore,
" I beg of you, to take some share, though it be a
" false one, in the possession of another man's glory;
" and admit me, in some degree, into a partnership
" of your praises. But, to be serious, my Dolabella,
" for hitherto I have been joking, I would sooner
" transfer all the credit that I have to you, if I really
" have any, than rob you of any part of your's; for,
" as I have always had that sincere affection for you,
" to which you have been no stranger, so now I am
" so charmed by your late conduct, that no love was
" ever more ardent. For, believe me, there is nothing,
" after all, more engaging, nothing more beautiful,
" nothing more lovely than virtue. I have ever loved
" M. Brutus, you know, for his incomparable parts,
" sweet disposition, singular probity, and firmness
" of mind: yet, on the Ides of March, such an ac-
" cession was made to my love, that I was surprised
" to find any room for increase in that, which I had
" long ago taken to be full and perfect. Who could
" have thought it possible, that any addition could
" be made to my love of you? Yet so much has
" been added, that I seem but now at last to love,
" before to have only esteemed you. What is it,
" therefore, that I must now exhort you to? Is it
" to pursue the path of dignity and glory? And as
" those do, who use to exhort, shall I propose to you
" the examples of eminent men? I can think of none
" more eminent than yourself. You must imitate,

" therefore, yourself; contend with yourself; for, " after such great things done, it would be a disgrace " to you not to be like yourself. Since this then is " the case, there is no occasion to exhort, but to con- " gratulate with you: for that has happened to you, " which scarce ever happened to any man; that, by " the utmost severity of punishing, instead of acqui- " ring odium, you are become popular; and not only " with the better sort, but the very meanest of the " city. If this was owing to fortune, I should con- " gratulate your felicity; but it was owing to the " greatness of your courage, as well as of your parts " and wisdom. For I have read your speech to the " people: nothing was ever more prudent: you enter " so deliberately and gradually into the reason of " your act, and retire from it so artfully, that the " case itself, in the opinion of all, appears to be ripe " for punishment. You have freed us, therefore, " both from our danger and our fears, and have done " an act of the greatest service, not only to the pre- " sent times, but for the example of it also to poste- " rity. You are to consider, that the republic now " rests upon your shoulders: and that it is your " part, not only to protect, but to adorn those men, " from whom we have received this beginning of our " liberty: but of this we shall talk more fully when " we meet again, as I hope we shall shortly; in the " meanwhile, since you are the common guardian, " both of the republic, and of us all, take care, my " dear Dolabella, that you guard more especially " your own safety."*

In this retreat from Rome, he had a mind to make an excursion to Greece, and pay a visit to his son at Athens, whose conduct did not please him, and seemed to require his presence to reform and set it right.† But the news of Dolabella's behaviour, and

* Ep. Fam. 9. 14.

† Quod sentio valde esse utile ad confirmationem Ciceronis, me illuc venire. [Ad. Att. 14. 13.] Magni interest Ciceronis, vel mea potius, vel mehercule utriusque, me intervenire discenti. Ib. 16.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 65. Coss.—M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

the hopes which it gave, of gaining the only thing that was wanted, a head and leader of their cause, armed with the authority of the state, made him resolve to stay, at least till after the first of June, lest his absence should be interpreted as a kind of desertion; nor did he ever intend, indeed, to leave Italy, till he could do it without censure, and to the full satisfaction of Brutus, whom he was determined never to desert on any occasion.*

He had frequent meetings and conferences all this while with his old friends of the opposite party, the late ministers of Cæsar's power; Pansa, Hirtius, Balbus, Matius, &c.: but Cæsar's death, on which their sentiments were very different from his, had, in great measure, broken their former confidence; and, though the popularity of the act made them somewhat shy of speaking their minds freely about it, yet he easily perceived that they were utterly displeased with it, and seemed to want an occasion of revenging it. Pansa and Hirtius, as has been said, were nominated by Cæsar to the consulship of the next year, and, as Cæsar's acts were ratified by the senate, were to succeed to it of course. This made Brutus and Cassius press Cicero earnestly to gain them, if possible, to the republican side; but especially Hirtius, whom they most suspected. But Cicero seems to have had little hopes of success: his account of them to Atticus, is, that there was not one of them who did not dread peace more than war; that they were perpetually lamenting the miserable end of so great a man, and declaring that the Republic was ruined by it; that all his acts would be made void, as soon as people's fears were over, and that clemency was his ruin: since, if it had not been for that, he could not have perished in such a man-

* Nunc autem videmur habituri ducem, quod unum Municipia, bonique desiderant. Ib. 20.

Nec vero decedam, nisi cum tu me id honeste putabis facere posse. Bruto certe meo nullo loco de ero. Ib. 15.—Vid. 16. 13.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss.—M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

ner; and of Hirtius in particular: "He warmly "loves him," says he, "whom Brutus stabbed: as "to their desiring me to make him better, I am doing "my endeavour: he talks very honestly, but lives "with Balbus; who talks honestly too: how far "they are to be trusted, you must consider."*

But of all this set of men, Matius was the most open and explicit in condemning the act of the conspirators, so as to put Cicero out of humour with him, as a man irreconcileable to the liberty of the Republic. Cicero called upon him, on his way from Rome into the country, and found him sullen, desponding, and foreboding nothing but wars and desolation, as the certain consequence of Cæsar's death. Among other particulars of their conversation, Matius told him something which Cæsar had lately said both of him and Brutus; that he used to say to Brutus, it was of great consequence which way he stood inclined, since whatever he had a mind to, he pursued with an impetuous eagerness; that he had remarked this of him more especially, in his pleading for Deiotarus at Nicæa; where he spoke with a surprising vehemence and freedom: and of Cicero, that when he was attending Cæsar, in the cause of Sestius, Cæsar perceiving him sitting in the room, and waiting till he was called, said, "Can I doubt of my being extremely odious, when "Cicero sits waiting, and cannot get access to me? "yet if any man be easy enough to forgive it, it is he, "though I do not question but that he really hates "me."†

* Minime enim obscurum est, quid isti moliantur; meus vero discipulus, qui hodie apud me cœnat, valde amat illum, quem Brutus noster sanciavit, et si quæris, perspexi enim plane, timent otium. ὑπόϑεσιν autem hanc habent, eamque præ se ferunt, virum clarissimum interfectum, totam Rempub. illius interitu perturbatam: irrita fore, quæ ille egisset, simul ac desistemus timere. Clementiam illi malo fuisse: qua si usus non esset, nihil illi tale accidere potuisse. Ad Att. 14. 22.

Quod Hirtium per me meliorem fieri volunt, do equidem operam, et ille optime loquitur, sed vivit habitatque cum Balbo: qui item bene loquitur. Quid credas videris. Ib. 20. 21.

† De Bruto nostro—Cæsarem solitum dicere. Magni refert hic quid velit: sed quicquid vult, valde vult. Idque eum animadvertisse eum pro Deiotaro Nicæe

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There were several reasons, however, which made it necessary to these men, to court Cicero, at this time, as much as ever; for, if the Republic happened to recover itself, he was of all men the most capable to protect them on that side: if not, the most able to assist them against Antony, whose designs and success they dreaded still more; for, if they must have a new master, they were disposed, for the sake of Cæsar, to prefer his heir and nephew Octavius. We find Hirtius and Pansa, therefore, very assiduous in their observance of him: they spent a great part of the summer with him at different times, in his villas, giving him the strongest assurances of their good intentions and disposition to peace, and that he should be the arbiter of their future consulship: and, though he continued still to have some distrust of Hirtius, yet Pansa wholly persuaded him that he was sincere.*

Brutus and Cassius continued still near Lanuvium, in the neighbourhood of Cicero's villa, at Astura, of which, at Cicero's desire, they sometime made use.† Being yet irresolute what measures they should take, they kept themselves quiet and retired, expecting what time and chance would offer, and waiting particularly to see what humour the consuls would be in at the next meeting of the senate, with regard to themselves and the republic: and, since they were driven from the discharge of their prætorship, in the city, they contrived to put the people in mind of them, from time to time, by their edicts, in which they made the strongest professions

dixerit, valde vehementer eum visum, et libere dicere. Atque etiam proxime cum Sestii rogatu apud eum fuissem, expectaremque sedens quoad vocarer, dixisse cum; ego dubitem quin summo in odio sim, cum M. Cicero sedeat, nec suo commodo me convenire possit? Atqui si quisquam est facilis, hic est: tamen non dubito, quin me male oderit. Ad Att. 14. 1.

* Cum Pansa vixi in Pompeiano. Is plane mihi probabat, se bene sentire et cupere pacem, &c. Ad Att. 14. 20. it 15. 1.

† Velim mehercule Asturæ Brutus. [Ad Att. 14. 11.] Brutum apud me fuisse gaudeo; modo et libenter fuerit et sat diu. Ib. 15. 3.

of their pacific disposition, and declared that their conduct should give no handle for a civil war, and that they would submit to a perpetual exile, if it would contribute in any manner to the public concord, being content with the consciousness of their act, as the greatest honour which they could enjoy.* Their present design was to come to Rome on the first of June, and take their places in the senate, if it should be thought advisable, or to present themselves, at least, in the rostra, and try the affections of the people, for whom Brutus was preparing a speech. They sent to know Cicero's opinion of this project, with the copy also of that speech which Brutus made in the capitol, on the day of Cæsar's death, begging his revisal and correction of it, in order to its being published. Cicero, in his account of it to Atticus, says, "The oration is drawn with the "utmost elegance both of sentiments and style; "yet, were I to handle the subject, I should work "it up with more fire. You know the character of "the speaker; for which reason I could not cor- "rect it: for, in the style in which our friend would "excel, and according to the idea which he has "formed of the best manner of speaking, he has "succeeded so well, that nothing can be better: "but, whether I am in the right or the wrong, I am "of a quite different taste. I wish, however, that "you would read it, if you have not already, and "let me know what you think of it; though I am "afraid, lest, through the prejudice of your name, you "should shew too much of the attic in your judgment: "yet, if you remember the thunder of Demosthenes, "you will perceive that the greatest force may con- "sist with the perfection of attic elegance."†

* Testati edictis, libenter se vel in perpetuo exilio victuros, dum Reipub. constaret concordia, nec ullum belli civilis præbituros materiam, plurimum sibi honoris esse in conscientia facti sui, &c. [Vell. Pat. 2. 62.] Edictum Bruti et Cassii probo. [Ad Att. 14. 20.] De quibus tu bonam spem te habere significas propter ediotorum humanitatem. Ib. 15. 1.

† Ad Att. 15. 1.

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Atticus did not like the speech; he thought the manner too cold and spiritless for so great an occasion, and begged of Cicero to draw up another, to be published in Brutus's name: but Cicero would not consent to it, thinking the thing itself improper, and knowing that Brutus would take it ill.* In one of his letters on the subject, "Though you may "think me in the wrong," says he, "to imagine "that the republic depends on Brutus, the fact is "certainly so: there will either be none at all, or "it will be saved by him and his accomplices. As "to your urging me to write a speech for him, take "it from me, my Atticus, as a general rule, which "by long experience I have found to be true, that "there never was a poet or orator who thought any "one preferable to himself; this is the case even "with bad ones: what shall we think, then, of "Brutus, who has both wit and learning? especial-"ly after the late experiment of him, in the case of "the edict. I drew up one for him at your desire: "I liked mine; he his: besides, when, at his ear-"nest solicitation, I addressed to him my treatise "on the best manner of speaking, he wrote word, "not only to me, but to you too, that the kind of "eloquence which I recommended did not please "him. Let every one, therefore, compose for him-"self——I wish only, that it may be in his power "to make a speech at all: for if ever he can appear "again with safety at Rome, we have gained the "victory.†

In this interval, a new actor appeared on the stage, who, though hitherto but little considered, soon made the first figure upon it, and drew all people's eyes towards him, the young Octavius, who was left, by his uncle Cæsar, the heir of his name and estate. He had been sent, a few months before, to Apollonia, a celebrated academy, or

* Ib. S. 4. † Ib. 14. 20.

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school of learning, in Macedonia, there to wait for his uncle, on his way to the Parthian war, in which he was to attend him; but the news of Cæsar's death soon brought him back to Italy, to try what fortunes he could carve for himself, by the credit of his new name, and the help of his uncle's friends. He arrived at Naples on the eighteenth of April, whither Balbus went the next morning to receive him, and returned the same day to Cicero, near Cumæ, having first conducted Octavius to the adjoining villa of his father-in-law, Philip: Hirtius and Pansa were with Cicero at the same time, to whom they immediately presented Octavius, with the strongest professions, on the part of the young man, that he would be governed entirely by his direction.*

The sole pretension which he avowed, at present, was to assert his right to the succession of his uncle's estate, and to claim the possession of it: but this was thought an attempt too hardy and dangerous for a mere boy, scarce yet above eighteen years old: for the republican party had great reason to be jealous of him, lest, with the inheritance of the estate, he should grasp at the power of his uncle; and Antony still more, who had destined that succession to himself, and already seized the effects, lest, by the advantage of all that wealth, Octavius might be in a condition to make head against him. The mother, therefore, and her husband Philip, out of concern for his safety, pressed him to suspend his claim for awhile, and not assume an invidious name, before he could see what turn the public affairs would take: but he was of too great a spirit to relish any suggestions of caution; declaring it base and infamous to think himself unworthy of a

* Octavius Neapolim venit a. d. XIIII Kal. ibi eum Balbus mane postridiè; eodemque die mecum in Cumano. [Ad Att. 14. 10.] Hic mecum Balbus, Hirtius, Pansa. Modo venit Octavius, et quidem in proximam villam Philippi mihi totus deditus. Ib. 11.

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name, of which Cæsar had thought him worthy:* and there were many about him constantly pushing him on, to throw himself upon the affections of the city, and the army, before his enemies had made themselves too strong for him; so that he was on fire to be at Rome, and to enter into action; being determined to risk all his hopes on the credit of his name, and the friends and troops of his uncle.

Before he left the country, Cicero, speaking of him to Atticus, says, "Octavius is still with us, "and treats me with the greatest respect and friend-"ship: his domestics give him the name of Cæsar: "Philip does not; nor for that reason do I. It is "not possible for him, in my opinion, to make a "good citizen; there are so many about him who "threaten the death of our friends: they declare, "that what they have done can never be forgiven. "What will be the case, think you, when the boy "comes to Rome, where our deliverers cannot shew "their heads? who yet must ever be famous, nay, "happy too, in the consciousness of their act: but "as for us, unless I am deceived, we shall be un-"done. I long, therefore, to go abroad, where I "may hear no more of these Pelopidæ, &c."†

As soon as Octavius came to Rome, he was produced to the people by one of the tribunes, and made a speech to them from the rostra, which was now generally possessed by the enemies of Brutus, who were perpetually making use of the advantage, to inflame the mob against him: "Remember," says Cicero, "what I tell you: this custom of se-"ditious harangues is so much cherished, that those

* Non placebat Atiæ matri, Philippoque vitrico, adiri nomen invidiosæ fortunæ Cæsaris—sprevit cœlestis animus humana consilia—dictitans, nefas esse, quo nomine Cæsari dignus esset visus, sibimet ipsum videri indignum. Vell. Pat. 2. 60.

† Nobiscum hic perhonorifice et amice Octavius: quem quidem sui Cæsarem salutabant Philippus non: itaque ne nos quidem: quem nego posse bonum civem, ita multi circumstant, qui quidem nostris mortem minitantur. Negant hæc ferri posse, quid censes, cum Romam puer venerit, ubi nostri liberatores tuti esse non possunt? qui quidem semper erunt clari: conscientia vero facti sui etiam beati: sed nos, nisi me fallit, jacebimus. Itaque aveo exire, ubi nec Pelopidarum. Ad Att. 14. 12.

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"heroes of our's, or rather gods, will live, indeed, "in immortal glory, yet not without envy, and even "danger: their great comfort, however, is, the con- "sciousness of a most glorious act: but what com- "fort for us, who, when our king is killed, are not "yet free? But fortune must look to that, since "reason has no sway."*

Octavius seconded his speech, by what was like to please the inferior part of the city much better; the representation of public shows and plays, in honour of his uncle's victories. Cæsar had promised and prepared for them in his life time; but those whom he had entrusted with the management, durst not venture to exhibit them after his death, till Octavius, as his heir and representative, undertook the affair, as devolved of course upon himself.† In these shows, Octavius brought out the golden chair, which, among the other honours decreed to Cæsar, when living, was ordered to be placed in the theatres and circus, as to a deity, on all solemn occasions.‡ But the tribunes ordered the chair to be taken away, upon which the body of the knights testified their applause by a general clap. Atticus sent an account of this to Cicero, which was very agreeable to him:§ but he was not at all pleased with Octavius's conduct, since it indicated a spirit determined to revive the memory, and to avenge the death of Cæsar; and he was the less pleased to hear, also, that Matius had taken upon him the care of these shows;‖ since it confirmed the suspicion which he had before conceived of Matius, and made him apprehensive that he would be an

* Sed memento, sic alitur consuetudo perditarum concionum, ut nostri illi non Heroes, sed Dii, futuri quidem in gloria sempiterna sint, sed non sine invidia, ne sine periculo quidem: verum illis magna consolatio, conscientia maximi et clarissimi facti: nobis quæ, qui interfecto Rege liberi non sumus? sed hæc fortuna viderit, quoniam ratio non gubernat. Ad Att. 14. 11.

† Ludos autem victoriæ Cæsaris non audentibus facere, quibus obtigerat id munus, ipse edidit. Sueton. Aug. x. Dio, p. 272.

‡ Dio, 44. 243.

§ De Sella Cæsaris, bene Tribuni. Præclaros etiam xiv ordines. Ad Att. 15. 3.

‖ Ludorum ejus apparatus, et Matius ac Postumius procuratores non placent. Ad Att. 15. 2.

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ill counsellor to young Octavius, in which light he seems to have represented him to Brutus. Matius was informed of these suspicions, and complained to their common friend Trebatius, of Cicero's unkind opinion and unfriendly treatment of him, which gave occasion to the following apology from Cicero, and the answer to it from Matius, which is deservedly valued, not only for the beauty of its sentiments and composition, but for preserving to us a name and character, which was almost lost to history, of a most esteemed and amiable person, who lived in the first degree of confidence with Cæsar, and for parts, learning, and virtue, was scarce inferior to any of that age.

Cicero takes pains to persuade Matius that he had said nothing of him but what was consistent with the strictest friendship; and, to gain the easier credit with him, prefaces his apology with a detail and acknowledgment of Matius's perpetual civilities, and observance of him through life, even when in the height of his power and credit with Cæsar: but when he comes to the point of the complaint, he touches it very tenderly, and observes only, in general, that as Matius's dignity exposed every thing which he did to public notice, so the malice of the world interpreted some of his acts more hardly than they deserved: that it was his care always to give the most favourable turn to them.—"But you," says he, "a man of the greatest learning, are not ignorant, that, if Cæsar was in fact "a king, as I indeed looked upon him to have "been, there are two ways of considering the case "of your duty: either that, which I commonly "take, of extolling your fidelity and humanity, "in shewing so much affection even to a dead "friend; or the other, which some people use, "that the liberty of our country ought to be preferred to the life of any friend. I wish that you "had heard with what zeal I used to defend you

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"in these conversations: but there are two things "especially, that make the principal part of your "praise, which no man speaks of more frequently "or more freely than I; that you, of all Cæsar's "friends, were the most active, both in dissuading "the civil war, and in moderating the victory; in "which I have met with nobody who does not "agree with me,* &c.

"MATIUS TO CICERO.

"YOUR letter gave me great pleasure, by letting "me see, that you retain still that favourable opinion "of me, which I had always hoped and wished; and "though I had never indeed any doubt of it, yet, "for the high value that I set upon it, I was very "solicitous that it should remain always inviolable: "I was conscious to myself that I had done no-"thing which could reasonably give offence to any "honest man; and did not imagine, therefore, that "a person of your great and excellent accomplish-"ments could be induced to take any without rea-"son, especially against one who had always pro-"fessed, and still continued to profess, a sincere "good will to you. Since all this then stands just "as I wish it, I will now give an answer to those "accusations, from which you, agreeably to your "character, out of your singular goodness and "friendship, have so often defended me. I am no "stranger to what has been said of me by certain "persons, since Cæsar's death: they call it a crime "in me, that I am concerned for the loss of an in-"timate friend, and sorry that the man whom I "loved met with so unhappy a fate: they say, "that our country ought to be preferred to any "friendship, as if they had already made it evident "that his death was of service to the republic: "but I will not deal craftily: I own myself not to

* Ep. Fam. xi. 27.

"be arrived at that degree of wisdom: nor did I "yet follow Cæsar in our late dissensions, but my "friend; whom, though displeased with the thing, "I could not desert: for I never approved the "civil war, or the cause of it: but took all pos-"sible pains to stifle it in its birth. Upon the "victory, therefore, of a familiar friend, I was not "eager either to advance or to enrich myself: an "advantage which others who had less interest "with him than I abused to great excess. Nay, "my circumstances were even hurt by Cæsar's law, "to whose kindness, the greatest part of those, who "now rejoice at his death, owed their very conti-"nuance in the city. I solicited the pardon of the "vanquished, with the same zeal as if it had been "for myself. Is it possible, therefore, for me, who "laboured to procure the safety of all, not to be "concerned for the death of him from whom I "used to procure it? especially, when the very "same men, who were the cause of making him "odious, were the authors, also, of destroying him. "But I shall have cause, they say, to repent for "daring to condemn their act. Unheard-of inso-"lence! that it should be allowed to some to glory "in a wicked action, yet not to others even to "grieve at it without punishment! But this was "always free even to slaves, to fear, rejoice, and "grieve by their own will, not that of another; "which yet these men, who call themselves the au-"thors of liberty, are endeavouring to extort from "us by the force of terror. But they may spare "their threats; for no danger shall terrify me from "performing my duty and the offices of humanity: "since it was always my opinion, that an honest "death was never to be avoided, often even to be "sought. But why are they angry with me, for "wishing only that they may repent of their "act? I wish that all the world may regret Cæ-"sar's death. But I ought, they say, as a member

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" of civil society, to wish the good and safety of " the republic. If my past life and future hopes " do not already prove that I wish it, without " my saying so, I will not pretend to evince it by " argument. I beg of you, therefore, in the strong- " est terms, to attend to facts rather than to words; " and if you think it the most useful to one in my " circumstances, that what is right should take " place, never imagine that I can have any union or " commerce with ill-designing men. I acted the " same part in my youth, where to mistake would " have been pardonable; shall I then undo it all " again, and renounce my principles in my declin- " ing age? No; it is my resolution to do nothing " that can give any offence, except it be when I " lament the cruel fate of a dear friend and illus- " trious man. If I were in different sentiments, I " would never disown what I was doing; lest I " should be thought, not only wicked for pursu- " ing what was wrong, but false and cowardly " for dissembling it. But I undertook the care of " the shows, which young Cæsar exhibited for the " victory of his uncle: this was an affair of private, " not of public duty; it was what I ought to have " performed to the memory and honour of my dead " friend; and what I could not, therefore, deny to " a youth of the greatest hopes, and so highly " worthy of Cæsar. But I go often also to the con- " sul Antony's, to pay my compliments; yet you will " find those very men go oftener to ask and receive " favours, who reflect upon me for it, as disaffected " to my country. But what arrogance is this? " When Cæsar never hindered me from visiting " whom I would; even those whom he did not care " for; that they, who have deprived me of him, " should attempt, by their cavils, to debar me from " placing my esteem where I think proper. But I " am not afraid, that either the modesty of my life " should not be sufficient to confute all false re-

"ports of me, for the future, or that they, who do "not love me, for my constancy to Cæsar, would "not choose to have their friends resemble me, ra- "ther than themselves. For my own part, if I "could have my wish, I would spend the remain- "der of my days in quiet at Rhodes: but if any "accident prevent me, will live in such a manner, "at Rome, as always to desire that what is right "may prevail. I am greatly obliged to our friend "Trebatius, for giving me this assurance of your "sincere and friendly regard for me, and for making "it my duty to respect and observe a man, whom "I had esteemed always before with inclination. "Take care of your health, and preserve me in "your affection."*

Antony, all this while, was not idle; but pushed on his designs with great vigour and address; in his progress through Italy, his business was to gather up Cæsar's old soldiers from the several colonies and quarters in which they were settled; and by large bribes, and larger promises, to attach them to his interests, and draw great bodies of them towards Rome, to be ready for any purpose that his affairs should require. In the city, likewise, he neglected no means which his consular authority offered, how unjust or violent soever, of strengthening his power; and let all people now see, for what ends he had provided that decree, to which the senate had consented for the sake of peace, of confirming Cæsar's acts: for being the master, both of Cæsar's papers and of his secretary Faberius,

* Ep. Fam. xi. 28. This Cn. Matius lived long afterwards in such favour and familiarity with Augustus, as to be distinguished by the title of Augustus's friend. Yet he seems to have declined all public honours and business, and to have spent the remainder of his days in an elegant and pleasurable retreat; employing his time and studies in the improvements of gardening and planting, as well as in refining the delicacy of a splendid and luxurious life, which was the general taste of that age. For he first taught how to inoculate and propagate some of their curious and foreign fruits; and introduced the way of cutting trees and groves into regular forms: on which subjects he published several books, which are mentioned by the later writers. Vid. Columel. de re rust. l. 12. c. 41. init. Plin. Hist. l. 12. 2. 15. 14.

by whose hand they were written,* he had an opportunity of forging and inserting at pleasure whatever he found of use to him; which he practised without any reserve or management; selling publicly for money whatever immunities were desired, by countries, cities, princes, or private men, on pretence that they had been granted by Cæsar, and entered into his books. This alarmed and shocked all honest men, who saw the mischief, but knew no remedy: Antony had the power, and their own decree had justified it: Cicero complains of it heavily, in many of his letters, and declares it a thousand times better to die than to suffer it.† "Is it "so, then?" says he: "is all that our Brutus has "done come to this, that he might live at last at "Lanuvium, that Trebonius might steal away, "through private roads, to his province? That all "the acts, writings, sayings, promises, thoughts of "Cæsar, should have greater force now, than when "he himself was living?" All which he charges to that mistake of the first day, in not summoning the senate into the capitol, where they might have done what they pleased, when their own party was uppermost, and these robbers, as he calls them, dispersed and dejected.‡

Among the other acts which Antony confirmed, on the pretence of their being ordered by Cæsar, he granted the freedom of the city to all Sicily, and restored to king Deiotarus all his former dominions. Cicero speaks of this with great indignation: "O my Atticus," says he, "the Ides of March "have given us nothing but the joy of revenging "ourselves on him, whom we had reason to hate— "it was a brave act, but left imperfect—you know

* τὰ ὑπομνήματα τῶν βεβουλευμένων ὁ Αντώνιος ἔχων, καὶ τὴν γραμματέα τοῦ Καίσαρος φαβέριον ἐς πάντα οἱ πειθόμενον App. l. 3. 529.

† Ep. Fam. 12. 1. Ad Att. 14. 9.

‡ Itane vero? hoc meus et tuus Brutus egit, ut Lanuvii esset? ut Trebonius itineribus deviis proficisceretur in provinciam? ut omnia facta, scripta, dicta, promissa, cogitata Cæsaris plus valerent, quam si ipse viveret? &c. Ad Att. 11. 10.

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"what a kindness I have for the Sicilians—that I "esteem it an honour to be their patron: Cæsar "granted them many privileges, which I did not "dislike; though his giving them the rights of La-"tium was intolerable: yet that was nothing to "what Antony has done, who, for a large sum of "money, has published a law, pretended to be "made by the dictator, in an assembly of the peo-"ple, though we never heard a syllable of it in his "life-time, which makes them all citizens of Rome. "Is not Deiotarus's case just the same? He is "worthy, indeed, of any kingdom, but not by the "grant of Fulvia: there are a thousand instances "of the same sort."* When this last act was hung up, as usual, in the capitol, among the public monuments of the city, the forgery appeared so gross, that the people, in the midst of their concern, could not help laughing at it, knowing that Cæsar hated no man so much as Deiotarus. But the bargain was made in Fulvia's apartments, for the sum of eighty thousand pounds, by the king's agents at Rome, without consulting Cicero, or any other of their master's friends: yet the old king, it seems, was beforehand with them, and no sooner heard of Cæsar's death, than he seized upon his dominions again by force. "He knew it," says Cicero, "to "be an universal right, that what tyrants had for-"cibly taken away, the true owners might recover, "whenever they were able:—he acted like a man, "but we contemptibly; who, whilst we hate the "author, yet maintain his acts."† By these methods Antony presently amassed infinite sums of money; for though, at the time of Cæsar's death, he owed,

* Ad Att. 14. 12.

† Syngrapha H. S. centies per legatos,—sine nostra, sine reliquorum hospitum Regis sententia, facta in gynæceo: quo in loco plurimæ res venierunt, et veneunt—Rex enim ipse sua sponte, nullis commentariis Cæsaris, simul atque audivit ejus interitum, suo marte res suas recuperavit. Sciebat homo sapiens, jus semper hoc fuisse, ut, quæ Tyranni eripuissent, ea Tyrannis interfectis, iis quibus erepta essent, recuperarent—Ille vir fuit, nos quidem contemnendi, qui auctorem odimus, acta defendimus. Philip. 2. 37.

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as Cicero told him, above three hundred thousand pounds, yet, within less than a fortnight after it, he had paid off the whole debt.*

There was another instance of his violence, which gave still greater offence to the city, his seizing the public treasure, which Cæsar had deposited, for the occasions of the government, in the temple of Opis, amounting to above five millions and a half of our money, besides what Calpurnia, Cæsar's wife, from his private treasure, had delivered into his hands, computed at about another million. This was no extraordinary sum, if we consider the vastness of the mine from which it was drawn, the extent of the Roman empire, and that Cæsar was, of all men, the most rapacious in extorting it: Cicero, alluding to the manner in which it was raised, calls it a bloody and deadly treasure, gathered from the spoils and ruin of the subjects; which, if it were not restored, as it ought to be, to the true owners, might have been of great service to the public, towards easing them of their taxes.†

But Antony, who followed Cæsar's maxims, took care to secure it to himself: the use of it was to purchase soldiers, and he was now in condition to outbid any competitor: but the first purchase that he made with it, was of his colleague Dolabella, who had long been oppressed with the load of his debts, and whom, by a part of this money, and the promise of a farther share in the plunder of the empire, he drew entirely from Cicero and the republican party, into his own measures. This was an acquisition worth any price to him: the general inclination both of the city and the country was clearly against him: the town of Puteoli, one of the most considerable of Italy, had lately chosen the two

* Tu autem quadringenties H. S. quod Idibus martiis, debuisti, quonam modo ante Kalendas Aprilis debere desisti? Philip. 2. 37.

† Ubi est septies millies H. S. quod in tabulis, quæ sunt ad Opis patebat? funestæ illius quidem pecuniæ, sed tamen, si iis, quorum erat, non rederetur, quæ nos a tributis posset vindicare. Philip. 2. 37. it. Philip. 1. 7. it. Plut. in Ant.

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Brutuses and Cassius for their patrons,* and there wanted nothing but a leader to arm the whole empire in that cause: Dolabella seemed to be that very person, till bribed, as Cicero says, by force of money, he not only deserted but overturned the republic.†

These proceedings, which were preparatory to the appointed meeting of the senate, on the first of June, began to open Brutus's eyes, and convince him of the mistake of his pacific measures, and favourable thoughts of Antony: he now saw that there was no good to be expected from him, or from the senate itself, under his influence; and thought it time, therefore, in concert with Cassius, to require an explicit account of his intentions, and to expostulate with him gently in the following letter:—

"BRUTUS AND CASSIUS, PRÆTORS, TO M. ANTONIUS, CONSUL.

"If we were not persuaded of your sincerity and "good will to us, we should not have written this "to you; which, out of the kind disposition that "you bear to us, you will take, without doubt, in "good part. We are informed that a great multitude of veteran soldiers is already come to Rome, "and a much greater expected there on the first of "June. If we could harbour any suspicion or "fear of you, we should be unlike ourselves: yet "surely, after we had put ourselves into your "power, and, by your advice, dismissed the friends "whom we had about us, from the great towns, "and that not only by public edict, but by private "letters, we deserve to be made acquainted with "your designs, especially in an affair which relates

* Vexavit Puteolanos, quod Cassium et Brutos Patronos adoptassent. Philip. 2. 41.

† Ut illum oderim, quod cum Rempub. me auctore defendere cœpisset, non modo desemerit, emptus pecunia, sed etiam quantum in ipso fuit, everterit. Ad Att. 16. 15.

"to ourselves. We beg of you, therefore, to let us "know what your intentions are with regard to us. "Do you think that we can be safe in such a "crowd of veterans, who have thoughts, we hear, "even of rebuilding the altar, which no man can "desire or approve who wishes our safety and ho-"nour? That we had no other view from the first "but peace, nor sought any thing else but the "public liberty, the event shews. Nobody can "deceive us but you, which is not certainly agreea-"ble to your virtue and integrity; but no man else "has it in his power to deceive us. We trusted, "and shall trust, to you alone. Our friends are "under the greatest apprehensions for us; for "though they are persuaded of your integrity, yet "they reflect, that a multitude of veterans may "sooner be pushed on to any violence by others, "then restrained by you. We desire an explicit "answer to all particulars; for it is silly and trifling "to tell us, that the veterans are called together "because you intend to move the senate in their "favour in June: for who do you think will hinder "it, when it is certain that we shall not?—Nobody "ought to think us too fond of life, when nothing "can happen to us, but with the ruin and confusion "of all things."*

During Cicero's stay in the country, where he had a perpetual resort of his friends to him, and where his thoughts seemed to be always employed on the republic, yet he found leisure to write several of those philosophical pieces, which still subsist both to the pleasure and benefit of mankind. For he now composed his Treatise on the Nature of the Gods, in three books, addressed to Brutus: containing the opinions of all the philosophers who had ever written any thing on that argument: to which he bespeaks the attention of his readers, as

* Ep. Fam. xi. 2.

to a subject of the last importance; which would inform them, what they ought to think of religion, piety, sanctity, ceremonies, faith, oaths, temples, &c. since all these were included in that single question of the gods.* He drew up, likewise, his discourse on Divination, or the foreknowledge and prediction of future events, and the several ways by which it was supposed to be acquired or communicated to man: where he explains, in two books, whatever could be said for and against the actual existence of the thing itself. Both these pieces are written in the way of dialogue; of which he gives the following account:—"Since Carneades," says he, "has "argued both acutely and copiously against divina- "tion, in answer to the stoics, I am now inquiring "what judgment we ought to form concerning it: "and, for fear of giving my assent rashly to a thing, "either false in itself, or not sufficiently understood, "I think it best to do, what I have already done, "in my three books on the Nature of the Gods, "weigh and compare diligently all the arguments "with each other: for as rashness of assent and "error is in all cases shameful, so most of all, in "that, where we are to judge what stress is to be "laid on auspices, and things of a divine and reli- "gious nature; for the danger is, lest, either by "neglecting them, we involve ourselves in an im- "piety, or by embracing them, in an old woman's "superstition."† He now also wrote his piece on the advantages of old age, called Cato, from the chief speaker in the dialogue: he addressed it to Atticus, as a lecture of common comfort to them both, in that gloomy scene of life on which they were entering; having found so much pleasure, he says, in writing it, that it not only eased him of all the complaints of age, but made age itself even agreeable and cheerful to him.‡ He added, soon after,

* De Nat. Deor. 1. 6. † De Divin. 1. 4.

‡ Mihi quidem ita jucunda hujus libri confectio, fuit, ut non modo omnes absterse-

another present of the same kind to Atticus, a Treatise on Friendship: a subject, he says, both worthy to be known to all, and peculiarly adapted to the case of their particular intimacy: "For, as I have already "written of age, an old man to an old man; so now, "in the person of a sincere friend, I write on friend-"ship to my friend." This is written also in dialogue, the chief speaker of which is Lælius: who, in a conversation with his two sons-in-law, Fannius and Scævola, upon the death of P. Scipio, and the memorable friendship that had subsisted between them, took occasion, at their desire, to explain to them the nature and benefits of true friendship. Scævola, who lived to a great age, and loved to retail his old stories to his scholars, used to relate to them, with pleasure, all the particulars of this dialogue, which Cicero having committed to his memory, dressed up afterwards in his own manner, into the present form.* Thus this agreeable book, which, when considered only as an invention or essay, is one of the most entertaining pieces in antiquity, must needs affect us more warmly, when it is found at last to be a history, or a picture drawn from the life, exhibiting the real characters and sentiments of the best and greatest men of Rome. He now also wrote his discourse on Fate; which was the subject of a conversation with Hirtius, in his villa near Puteoli, where they spent several days together in May: and he is supposed to have finished, about the same time, a translation of Plato's famous dialogue, called Timæus, on the Nature and Origin of the Universe.

But he was employing himself also upon a work of a different sort, which had been long upon his

rit senectutis molestias, sed effecerit mollem etiam et jucundam senectutem. Cato. 1.

* Digna mihi res tum omnium cognitione, tum nostra familiaritate visa est—sed ut tum ad senem senex de Senectute, sic hoc libro ad amicum amicissimus de amicitia scripsi—et cum Scævola—exposuit nobis sermonem Lælii de amicitia, habitum ab illo secum, et cum altero genero C. Fannio, &c. De Amicit. 1.

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hands—A History of his Own Times, or rather of his own conduct; full of free and severe reflections on those who had abused their power, to the oppression of the republic, especially Cæsar and Crassus. This he calls his Anecdote: a work not to be published, but to be shewn only to a few friends, in the manner of Theopompus an historian, famed for his severe and invective style.* Atticus was urging him to put the last hand to it, and to continue it down through Cæsar's government: but he chose to reserve this last part for a distinct history, in which he designed to vindicate, at large, the justice of killing a tyrant. We meet with several hints of this design in his letters: in one to Atticus, he says, "I have not yet polished my Anecdote to my "mind: as to what you would have me add, it will "require a separate volume; but, believe me, I could "speak more freely and with less danger against "that detested party, whilst the tyrant himself was "alive, than now, when he is dead. For he, I know "not why, indulged me wonderfully: but now, "which way soever we stir, we are called back, not "only to Cæsar's acts, but to his very thoughts."—Again: "I do not well understand what you would "have me write: is it, that the tyrant was killed "according to the strict laws of justice? Of that "I shall both speak and write my thoughts fully on "another occasion."† His other friends also seem to have had some notice of this work; for Trebonius, in a letter to him from Athens, after reminding him of his promise to give him a place in some of his writings, adds, "I do not doubt, but that if you

* Ad Att. 2. 6. Dion. Halic. Proœm. 1.

† Librum meum illum ἀνέκδοτον nondum, ut volui, perpolivi. Ista vero, quæ tu contexi vis, aliud quoddam separatum volumen exspectant. Ego autem, credas mihi velim, minore periculo existimo contra ill..s nefarias partes vivo tyranno dici potuisse, quam mortuo. Ille enim nescio quo pacto ferebat me quidem mirabiliter. Nunc quacunque nos commovimus, ad Cæsaris non modo acta, verum etiam cogitata revocamur. [Ad Att. 14. 17.] Sed parum intelligo quid me velis scribere—an sic ut in tyrannum jure optimo cæsum? multa dicentur, multa scribentur a nobis, sed alio modo ac tempore. Ib. 15. 3.

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"write any thing on the death of Cæsar, you will "give me not the least share, both of that act, and "of your affection."* Dion Cassius says, that he delivered this book, sealed up, to his son, with strict orders not to read or publish it till after his death; but, from this time, he never saw his son, and left the piece probably unfinished: though some copies of it afterwards got abroad, from which his commentator, Asconius, has quoted several particulars.†

In the end of May he began to move towards Rome, in order to assist at the senate on the first of June, and proposed to be at Tusculum on the twenty-sixth, of which he gave Atticus notice. There passed all the while a constant commerce of letters between him and Brutus, who desired a personal conference with him at Lanuvium: in which Cicero resolved to humour him, though he did not think it prudent at that time, when, without any particular use, it would only give jealousy to Antony. But the nearer he came to the city, the more he was discouraged from the thoughts of entering it: he understood that it was filled with soldiers: that Antony came thither attended by a strong body of them: that all his views were bent on war: and that he designed to transfer the province of Gaul from D. Brutus to himself, by a vote of the people.‡ Hirtius dissuaded his going, and resolved to stay away himself; Varro sent him word that the veterans talked desperately against all those who did not favour them; Græceius also admonished him, on the part of C. Cassius, to be upon his guard, for that certain armed men were provided for some attempt at Tusculum. All these informations determined him at last not to venture to the senate;

* Namque illud non dubito, quin, si quid de interitu Cæsaris scribas, non patiaris me minimam partem et rei et amoris tui ferre. Ep. Fam. 12. 16.

† Vid. Dio, p. 96. it. Ascon. in Tog. cand.

‡ Puto enim nobis Lanuvium eundum, non sine multo sermone.—Bruto enim placere, se a me conveniri. O rem odiosam et inexplicabilem! puto me ergo iturum—Antonii consilia narras turbulenta—sed mihi totum ejus consilium ad bellum spectare videtur, si quidem D. Bruto provincia eripitur. Ad Att. 15. 4.

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but to withdraw himself from that city, where he had not only flourished, he says, with the greatest, but lived even a slave, with some dignity.* The major part of the senate followed his example, and fled out of the city, for fear of some violence, leaving the consuls, with a few of their creatures, to make what decrees they thought fit.†

This turn of affairs made Cicero resolve to prosecute what he had long been projecting, his voyage to Greece, to spend a few months with his son at Athens. He despaired of any good from these consuls, and intended to see Rome no more till their successors entered into office; in whose administration he began to place all his hopes. He wrote, therefore, to Dolabella, to procure him the grant of an honorary lieutenancy; and lest Antony, an angry man, as he calls him, should think himself slighted, he wrote to him too on the same subject. Dolabella immediately named him for one of his own lieutenants, which answered his purpose still better, for, without obliging him to any service, or limiting him to any time, it left him at full liberty to go wherever he pleased; so that he readily accepted it, and prepared for his journey.‡ He heard, in the meanwhile, from Balbus, that the senate would be held again on the fifth: when commissions would be granted severally to Brutus and Cassius, to buy up corn in Asia and Sicily, for the use of the republic: and that it would be decreed also, at the same time, that

* Hirtius jam in Tusculano est; mihique, ut absim, vehementer auctor est; et ille quidem periculi causa—Varro autem noster ad me epistolam misit—in qua scriptum erat, veteranos eos, qui rejiciantur—improbissime loqui; ut magno periculo Romæ sint futuri, qui ab eorum partibus dissentire videantur. Ib. 5.

Græceius ad me scripsit, C. Cassium ad se scripsisse, homines comparari, qui in Tusculanum armati mitterentur.—Id quidem mihi non videbatur; sed cavendum tamen. Ib. 15. 8.

Mihi vero deliberatum est, ut nunc quidem est, abesse ex ea urbe, in qua non modo florui cum summa, verum etiam servivi cum aliqua dignitate. Ib. 5.

† Kalendis Juniis cum in Senatum, ut erat constitutum, venire vellemus, metu perterriti repente diffugimus. Philip. 2. 42.

‡ Etiam scripsi ad Antonium de legatione, ne, si ad Dolabellam solum scripsissem, iracundus homo commoveretur.—[Ad Att. 15. 8.] Sed heus tu,—Dolabella me sibi legavit, &c. Ib. 11.

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provinces should be assigned to them with the other prætors, at the expiration of the year.*

Their case, at this time, was very remarkable; it being wholly new in Rome to see prætors driven out of the city, where their residence was absolutely necessary, and could not legally be dispensed with for above ten days in the year: but Antony readily procured a decree to absolve them from the laws;† being glad to see them in a situation so contemptible; stripped of their power, and suffering a kind of exile, and depending, as it were, upon him for their protection: their friends, therefore, at Rome, had been soliciting the senate for some extraordinary employment to be granted to them, to cover the appearance of a flight, and the disgrace of living in banishment, when invested with one of the first magistracies of the republic.‡

This was the ground of the commission just mentioned, to buy corn; which seemed, however, to be below their character, and contrived as an affront to them by Antony, who affected still to speak of them always with the greatest respect.§ But their friends thought any thing better for them than to sit still in Italy, where their persons were exposed to danger from the veteran soldiers, who were all now in motion; and that this employment would be a security to them for the present, as well as an opportunity of providing for their future safety, by enabling them to execute what they were now meditating, a design of seizing some provinces abroad, and arming themselves in defence of the republic; which was what

* A Balbo redditæ mihi litteræ, fore Nonis Senatum, ut Brutus in Asia, Cassius in Sicilia, frumentum emendum et ad urbem mittendum curarent. O rem miseram! sit, eodem tempore decretum iri, uti is et reliquis Prætoriis provinciæ decernantur. Ib. 9.

† Cur M. Brutus, te referente, legibus est solutus, si ab urbe plusquam decem dies abfuisset? Philip. 2. 13.

‡ Καὶ αὐτοῖς εἰς εὐπρέπειαν ἡ βουλὴ σίτου φροντίσαι προστέταξεν ἵνα μὴ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ διάστημα φεύγειν νομίζοιντο. Appian. Bell. Civ. l. 4. 622. it. l. 3. 530.

§ Frumentum imponere—quod munus in Rep. sordidius? [Ad Att. 15. x.] Patriæ liberatores urbe carebant—quos tamen ipsi Consules et in concionibus et in omni sermone laudabant. Philip. 1. 2.

their enemies were most afraid of, and charged them with publicly, in order to make them odious. Cicero, in the mean time, at their desire, had again recommended their interests to Hirtius, who gave him the following answer:—

"I wish that Brutus and Cassius could be prevailed with, by you, as easily to lay aside all crafty counsels, as they can obtain, by you, from me, whatever they desire. They were leaving Italy, you say, when they wrote to you: whither? or wherefore? do not let them go, I beseech you, my dear Cicero, nor suffer the republic to be wholly lost; though overwhelmed indeed already by these rapines, burnings, murders. If they are afraid of any thing, let them be upon their guard; but act nothing offensively: they will not, I am confident, gain a tittle the more by the most vigorous, than the most pacific measures, if they use but caution. The things which are now stirring cannot last long; but, if made the subject of war, will acquire present strength to hurt. Let me know your opinion of what may be expected from them."—Cicero sent him word, that he would be answerable for their attempting nothing desperate; and was informed, at the same time, by Balbus, that Servilia, Brutus's mother, had undertaken that they should not leave Italy.*

Servilia, though sister to Cato, had been one of Cæsar's mistresses, and, next to Cleopatra, the most beloved of them all: in the civil war, he gave her several rich farms out of his Pompeian confiscations, and is said to have bought a single jewel for her at the price of about 50,000*l.*† She was a woman of spirit and intrigue, in great credit with the Cæsarian party, and at this very time possessed the estate and villa of Pontius Aquila, one of the conspirators,

* Cui rescripsi nihil illos callidius cogitare, idque confirmavi—Balbus ad me—Serviliam confirmare non discessuros. Ad Att. 15. 6.

† Ante alias dilexit M. Bruti matrem Serviliam,—cui Sexagies H. S. margaritam mercatus est, &c. Sueton. J. Cæs. 50.

which had been confiscated, and granted to her by Cæsar. Cicero reckons it among the solecisms of the times, that the mother of the tyrant-killer should hold the estate of one of her son's accomplices:* yet she had such a share in all the counsels of Brutus, that it made Cicero the less inclined to enter into them, or to be concerned with one whom he could not trust: "When he is influenced so much," says he, "by his mother's advice, or at least her entreaties, why should I interpose myself?"†

At their desire, however, he went over to them at Antium, to assist at a select council of friends, called to deliberate on what was proper for them to do, with regard to this new commission. There were present, among others, Favonius, Servilia, Porcia, Brutus's wife, and his sister Tertulla, the wife of Cassius: Brutus was much pleased at his coming; and, after the first compliments, begged him to deliver his opinion to the company, on the subject of their meeting. Upon which he presently advised, what he had been considering on the road, that Brutus should go to Asia, and undertake the affair of the corn; that the only thing to be done at present was, to provide for their safety; that their safety was a certain benefit to the republic.—Here Cassius interrupted him, and, with great fierceness in his looks, protested that he would not go to Sicily, nor accept as a favour what was intended as an affront; but would go to Achaia.—Brutus said that he would go to Rome, if Cicero thought it proper for him: but Cicero declared it impossible for him to be safe there:—"But supposing," says he, "that I could be safe:" "Why then," says Cicero, "I should advise it by all means, as the best thing "which you could do, and better than any pro-"vince."—After much discourse, and complaining

* Quin etiam hoc ipso tempore multa ὑποσόλοικα: Pontii Neapolitanum a matre tyrannoctoni possideri. Ad Att. 14. 21.

† Matris consilio cum utatur, vel etiam precibus, quid me interponam? Ad Att. 15. 1.

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for the loss of their opportunities, for which Cassius laid all the blame on D. Brutus, Cicero said, that though that was true, yet it was in vain to talk of what was past; and, as the case then stood, he saw nothing left but to follow his advice: to which they all at last seemed to agree, especially when Servilia undertook, by her mediation, to get the affair of the corn left out of their commission: and Brutus consented that the plays and shows, with which he was to entertain the city shortly, as prætor, should be given by proxy in his absence. Cicero took his leave, pleased with nothing in the conference but the consciousness of having done his duty; for as to the rest, he gave all, he says, for lost; found the vessel, not only broken, but shattered to pieces; and neither prudence, reason, or design in what they were doing: so that if he had any doubt before, he had none now, but longed to get abroad as soon as possible.*

Octavius, upon his coming to Rome, was very roughly received by Antony, who, despising his age and want of experience, was so far from treating him as Cæsar's heir, or giving him possession of his estate, that he openly threatened and thwarted him in all his pretensions, nor would suffer him to be chosen tribune, to which he aspired, with the seeming favour of the people, in the room of that Cinna who was killed at Cæsar's funeral.† This necessarily drew the regard of the republican party towards him, and Cicero began to take the more notice of him, in proportion as Antony grew more and more formidable: at present, he gives the following account of him. "Octavianus, I perceive, "has parts and spirit, and seems to be affected, as "we could wish, towards our heroes: but how far

* Ad Att. 15. 11. 12.

† In locum Tribuni pl. forte demortui candidatum petitorem se ostendit—sed adversante conatibus suis M. Antonio Consule—Sueton. August. x. Dio, 272. App. 506.

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"we may trust his age, name, succession, educa-
"tion, is a matter of great deliberation: his father-
"in-law, who came to see me at Astura, thinks not
"at all. He must be cherished, however, if for no-
"thing else, yet to keep him at a distance from
"Antony. Marcellus acts nobly, if he instils into
"him a good disposition towards our friends: he
"seemed to be much influenced by him, but to have
"no confidence in Pansa and Hirtius: his natural
"disposition is good, if it does but hold."*

In the midst of these affairs, with which his mind, as he complains, was much distracted, he pursued his literary studies with his usual ardour; and, to avoid the great resort of company which interrupted him at his house near Baiæ, he removed to his Pompeian villa, on the south side of Naples. Here he began his Book of Offices, for the use and instruction of his son, designed, he says, to be the fruit of this excursion: he composed also an Oration, adapted to the state of the times, and sent it to Atticus, to be suppressed or published at his discretion, promising him, withal, to finish, and send him, in a short time, his secret history, or Anecdote, in the manner of Heraclides, to be kept close in his cabinet.†

Before he could leave Italy, he was obliged to return to Tusculum, to settle his private affairs, and provide his equipage, and wrote to Dolabella, to give orders for the mules and other necessaries, which the government used to furnish to those who went abroad with a public character.‡ Here Atticus and he took leave of each other, with all pos-

* Ad Att. 15. 12.

† Nos hic φιλόσοφούμενα (quid enim aliud?) et τὰ περὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος magnifice explicamus, προσφωνοῦμεν que Ciceroni; qua de re enim potius pater filio? Deinde alia. Quid quæres? Extabit opera peregrinationis hujus.—Ego autem in Pompeianum properabam, non quod hoc loco quidquam pulchrius, sed interpellatores illic minus molesti—

Orationem tibi misi. Ejus custodiendæ et proferendæ arbitrium tuum—jam probo Ἡρακλείδιον, presertim cum tu tantopere delectere—enitar igitur. Ad Att. 15. 13. it. 14.

‡ Ib. 18.

sible marks of the most sincere and tender affection. The unsettled condition of the times, and the uncertainty when, or in what circumstances, they should meet again, raised several melancholy reflections in them both, which, as soon as they parted, drew many tears from Atticus, of which he gave Cicero an account in his next letter, with a promise to follow him into Greece. Cicero answered him with equal tenderness: "It moved me," says he, "to hear of the tears which you shed after "you left me: had you done it in my presence, "I should have dropped, perhaps, all thoughts of "my journey. That part, however, pleases me, "where you comfort yourself with the hopes of "our meeting again shortly; which expectation, "indeed, is what chiefly supports me: I will write "to you perpetually; give you an account of every "thing which relates to Brutus; send you, very "shortly, my Treatise on Glory, and finish for you "the other work, to be locked up with your treasure,"* &c.

These little passages from familiar letters, illustrate more effectually the real characters of men,

* Te, ut a me discesseras, lacrymasse, moleste ferebam. Quod si me præsente fecisses, consilium totius itineris fortasse mutassem. Sed illud præclare, quod te consolata est spes brevi tempore congrediendi: quæ quidem exspectatio me maxime sustentat. Meæ tibi litteræ non deerunt. De Bruto scribam ad te omnia. Librum tibi celeriter mittam de gloria. Excudam aliquid Ἡρακλείδιον, quod lateat in thesauris tuis. Ib. 27.

N. B. The Treatise, here mentioned, on Glory, which he sent soon after to Atticus, and published in two books, was actually preserved, and subsisting, long after the invention of printing, yet happened to perish, unhappily, for want of being produced into public light by the help of that admirable art.—Raimundus Superantius made a present of it to Petrarch, who, as he tells the story, in one of his epistles, lent it to his schoolmaster, who being old and poor, pawned it, for the relief of his necessities, into some unknown hand, whence Petrarch could never recover it, upon the old man's death. About two centuries after, it appeared to have been in the possession of Bernardus Justinianus, and was mentioned in the catalogue of his books, which he bequeathed to a monastery of nuns: but when it could not be found in that monastery, after the strictest search, it was generally believed that Petrus Alcyonius, who was physician to that house, and had the free use of the library, had stolen it; and after transcribing as much of it as he could into his own writings, had destroyed the original, for fear of a discovery: it being observed, by the critics, that in his book De Exilio there were many bright passages, not well connected with the rest of the work, which seemed to be above his taste and genius. Vid. Petrarch. Epist. l. 15. 1. Rer. Senilium. Paull. Manut. Not. Ad Att. 13. 27. Bayle Dict. in Alcyonius. Menagiana. Vol. IV. p. 86.

than any of their more specious and public acts.—It is commonly thought the part of a statesman to divest himself of every thing natural, and banish every passion that does not serve his interest or ambition:—but here we see a quite different character: one of the greatest statesmen of the world cherishing and cultivating in himself the soft and social affections of love and friendship, as knowing them to be designed equally by nature, for the comfort, as well of public as private life.

Atticus, likewise, whose philosophy was as incompatible as ambition, with all affections that did not terminate in himself, was frequently drawn, by the goodness of his nature, to correct the viciousness of his principle. He had often reproved Cicero for an excess of love to his daughter Tullia, yet he no sooner got a little Attica of his own, than he began to discover the same fondness, which gave Cicero occasion to repay his raillery with great politeness. "I rejoice," says he, "to perceive that you take so much delight in your little "girl. I love her already myself, and know her "to be amiable, though I have never seen her.—"Adieu then to Patro, and all your Epicurean "school." In another letter: "I am mightily "pleased with the fondness that you express for "your little daughter; and to see you feel, at last, "that the love of our children does not flow from "habit or fashion, but from nature: for if that be "not so, there can be no natural conjunction be-"tween one man and another, without which all "society must necessarily be dissolved."*

There was now great expectation of the shows and plays, which Brutus, as prætor of the city, was going to exhibit, according to annual custom, in honour of Apollo, on the third of July; and all

* Filiolam tibi jam Romæ jucundam esse gaudeo; eamque, quam nunquam vidi, tamen et amo, et amabilem esse certo scio. Etiam atque etiam valete Patron et tui condiscipuli. Ad Att. 5. 19.—it. 7. 20.

people were attentive and impatient to see in what manner they would be received. Brutus wrote to Cicero, to beg that he would grace them with his presence: but Cicero thought the request absurd, nor at all agreeable to Brutus's usual prudence. His answer was, that he was got too far upon his journey to have it now in his power; and that it would be very improper for him, who had not been in Rome since it was filled with soldiers, not so much out of regard to his danger as his dignity, to run thither on a sudden to see plays: that, in such times as these, though it was reputable for those to give plays, whose office required it, yet for his seeing them, as it was not necessary, so neither would it be thought decent—.* He was heartily solicitous, however, that they might meet with all imaginable encouragement, and charged Atticus to send him a particular account of what passed, on each day, from their first opening.

The success of them answered all their hopes, for they were received with an incredible applause by all ranks, though Antony's brother Caius, as the next prætor in office, presided at them: one of the plays was Tereus, a tragedy of Accius; which, having many strokes in it on the characters and acts of tyrants, was infinitely clapped by the people. Atticus performed his part to Cicero, and sent him a punctual account of what passed every day; which he constantly communicated to Brutus, who was now in his neighbourhood—in Nesis, a little isle, on the Campanian shore, the seat of young Lucullus.—In his answer to Atticus, "Your letters," says he, "were very acceptable to Brutus: "I spent several hours with him, soon after I re-

* In quibus unum alienum summa sua prudentia, id est illud, ut spectem ludos suos. Rescripsi scilicet, primum me jam profectum, ut non integrum sit. Deinde ἀτοπώτατον esse, me, qui Romam omnino post hæc arma non accesserim, neque id tam periculi mei causa fecerim, quam dignitatis, subito ad ludos venire. Tali enim tempore ludos facere illi honestum est, cui necesse est: spectare mihi, ut non est necesse, sic ne honestum quidem est. Equidem illos celebrari, et esse quam gratissimos mirabiliter cupio. Ad Att. 15. 26.

" ceived them: he seemed to be delighted with the " account of Tereus; and thought himself more " obliged to the poet Accius, who made it, than to " the prætor Antony, who presided at it. But the " more joy you send us of this sort, the more in- " dignation it gives me, to see the Roman people " employ their hands in clapping plays, not in de- " fending the republic. This, perhaps, may pro- " voke our enemies to discover themselves, before " they intended it; yet, if they be but mortified, I " care not by what means."* In a speech made afterwards to the senate, he urges this judgment of the city, as a proper lesson to Antony, to teach him the way to glory. " O happy Brutus," says he, " who, when driven from Rome, by force of arms, " resided still in the hearts and bowels of his citi- " zens, who made themselves amends for the absence " of their deliverer, by their perpetual applauses and " acclamations."†

But there was one thing, which, through the inadvertency of Brutus's managers, or the contrivance of the prætor Antony, gave Brutus some uneasiness; that, in the edict for proclaiming his shows, the month, instead of Quintilis, was styled July, by its new name, lately given to it in honour of Cæsar: for it raised great speculation, and was thought strange, that Brutus, by edict, should acknowledge and confirm an act, contrived to perpetuate the honour of tyranny. This little circumstance greatly disturbed him, imagining, that it would be reflected upon as a mean condescension; and since it could

* Bruto tuæ litteræ gratæ erant. Fui enim apud illum multas horas in Neside, cum paullo ante tuas litteras accepissem. Delectari mihi Tereo videbatur; et habere majorem Accio, quam Antonio, gratiam. Mihi autem quo lætiora sunt, eo plus stomachi et molestiæ est, populum Romanum manus suas, non in defendenda Repub. sed in plaudendo consumere. Mihi quidem videntur, istorum animi incendi etiam ad repræsentandam improbitatem suam. Sed tamen dum modo doleant aliquid, doleant quodlibet. Ad Att. 16. 2.

† Quid? Apollinarium ludorum plausus, vel testimonia potius, et judicia populi Romani parum magna videbantur? O beatos illos, qui cum adesse ipsis propter vim armorum non licebat, aderant tamen, et in medullis populi Romani ac visceribus hærebant! nisi forte Accio tum plaudi—et non Bruto putabatis, &c. Philip. 1. 15.

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not be remedied as to the plays, he resolved to correct it for the rest of the shows; and gave immediate orders, that the huntings of the wild beasts, which were to follow, should be proclaimed for the thirteenth of Quintilis.*

While Cicero continued in these parts, he spent the greatest share of his time with Brutus; and as they were one day together, L. Libo came to them, with letters just received from young S. Pompey, his son-in-law, with proposals of an accommodation, addressed to the consuls, on which he desired their opinion. Cicero thought them drawn with great gravity and propriety of expression, excepting a few inaccuracies, and advised only to change the address; and, instead of the consuls, to whom alone they were directed, to add the other magistrates, with the senate and people of Rome, lest the consuls should suppress them, as belonging only to themselves. These letters brought, in substance, that Pompey was now master of seven legions: that as he had just stormed a town called Borea, he received the news of Cæsar's death, which caused a wonderful joy, and change of affairs through the province of Spain, and a concourse of people to him from all parts. The sum of his demands was, that all who had the command of armies should dismiss them; but to Libo he signified, that, unless his father's estate and house at Rome, which Antony now possessed, were restored to him, he would agree to nothing.†

This overture from Pompey was procured chiefly by the management of Lepidus:‡ who, having the province of Spain assigned to him, where Pompey was very strong, had no mind to be engaged in a war at such a distance from Rome, and drawn off

* Quam ille doluit de Nonis Juliis! mirifice est conturbatus. Itaque sese scripturum aiebat, ut venationem etiam, quæ postridie ludos Apollinares futura est, proscriberent, 111 Id. Quintil.—Ad Att. 16. 4.

† Ib.

‡ Philip. 5. 13, 14, &c. it. Philip. 13. 4, 5, &c.

from attending to the main point in view, the event of affairs in Italy: for which purpose, on pretence of the public quiet, he made the offer of a treaty and honourable terms to Pompey, and that, on condition of laying down his arms, and quitting the province, he should be restored to all his estates and honours, and have the command of the whole naval power of Rome, in the same manner as his father had it before him: all which was proposed and recommended to the senate by Antony himself.* Where, to preserve a due respect to Cæsar's acts, by which Pompey's estates had been confiscated, it was decreed, that the same sum for which they had been sold, should be given to him by the public, to enable him to purchase them again. This amounted to above five millions and a half of our money, exclusive of his jewels, plate, and furniture; which being wholly embezzled, he was content to lose.† On these terms, ratified by the authority of the senate, Pompey actually quitted Spain, and came to Marseilles. The project was wisely concerted by Lepidus and Antony; for while it carried a shew of moderation, and disposition to peace, it disarmed a desperate enemy, who was in condition to give a great obstruction to their designs, and diversion to their arms, at a time when the necessity of their interests required their presence and whole attention at home, to lay a firm foundation of their power, in the heart and centre of the empire.

There happened an incident at this time of a domestic kind, which gave some pleasure both to Cicero and Atticus; the unexpected conversion of their nephew Quintus. He had long ago deserted

* App. p. 528. Dio, l. 45. 475.

† Salvis enim actis Cæsaris, quæ concordiæ causa defendimus, Pompeio sua domus patebit, eamque non minoris, quam Antonius emit, redimet—decrevistis tantam pecuniam Pompeio, quantam ex bonis patriis in prædæ dissipatione inimicus victor redegisset—nam, argentum, vestem, supellectilem, vinum amittet æquo animo, quæ ille belluo dissipavit—atque illud sepies millies, quod adolescenti, Patris conscripti, spopondistis, ita describetur, ut videatur a vobis Cn. Pompeii filius in patrimonio suo collocatus. Philip. 13. 5.

his father and uncle, and attached himself wholly to Cæsar, who supplied him liberally with money: on Cæsar's death he adhered still to the same cause, and was in the utmost confidence with Antony; and, as Atticus calls him, his right hand;* or the minister of all his projects in the city: but upon some late disgust, he began to make overtures to his friends, of coming over to Brutus, pretending to have conceived an abhorrence of Antony's designs; and signifying to his father, that Antony would have engaged him to seize some strong post in the city, and declare him dictator, and, upon his refusal, was become his enemy.† The father, overjoyed at this change, carried his son to Cicero, to persuade him of his sincerity, and to beg his intercession also with Atticus, to be reconciled to him: but Cicero, who knew the fickleness and perfidy of the youth, gave little credit to him; taking the whole for a contrivance only to draw money from them: yet, in compliance with their request, he wrote what they desired to Atticus, but sent him another letter, at the same time, with his real thoughts on the matter.

"Our nephew Quintus," says he, "promises to "be a very Cato. Both his father and he have been "pressing me, that I would undertake for him to "you; yet so, that you should not believe him, till "you yourself had seen the effects of it. I shall "give him, therefore, such a letter to you as he "would have; but let it not move you, for I have "written this, lest you should imagine that I am "moved myself. The gods grant that he may "perform what he promises; for it will be a com-"mon joy to us all. I will say nothing more of it "at present,"‡ &c.

* Quintus filius, ut scribis, Antonii est dextella. Ad Att. 14. 20.

† Quintus pater exultat lætitia. Scripsit enim filius, se idcirco profugere ad Brutum voluisse, quod cum sibi negotium daret Antonius, ut eum Dictatorem efficeret, præsidium occuparet, id recusasset; recusasse autem se, ne patris animum offenderet; ex eo sibi illum hostem. Ad Att. 15. 21.

‡ Quintus filius mihi pollicetur se Catonem. Egit autem et pater et filius, ut tibi sponderem: sed ita, ut tum crederes, cum ipse cognosces. Huic ego litteras ipsius

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But Young Quintus got the better, at last, of all Cicero's suspicions; and, after spending several days with him, convinced him, by his whole behaviour and conversation, that he was in earnest: so that he not only recommended him very affectionately to Atticus, but presented him also to Brutus, to make the offer of his service to him in person. "If he had "not wholly persuaded me," says he, "that what "I am saying of him is certainly true, I should not "have done what I am going to tell you; for I carried the youth with me to Brutus, who was so "well satisfied with him, that he gave him full cre-"dit, without suffering me to be his sponsor: in "commending him, he mentioned you in the kind-"est manner, and at parting, embraced and kissed "him. Wherefore, though there is reason rather "to congratulate than to entreat you, yet, I beg, "that whatever he may have done hitherto, through "the weakness of age, with more levity than became "him, you would believe it all to be now over,"* &c.

Quintus kept his word with them; and, to give proof of his zeal and sincerity, was so hardy, before the end of the year, as to undertake to accuse Antony to the people, for plundering the temple of Opis.† But this accident of changing his party, which gave so much joy at present to the whole family, though owing rather to a giddiness of temper than any good principle, proved fatal, not long after, both to the young man and his father; as it seems to have been the most probable cause of their

arbitratu dabo. Eæ ne te moverint; has scripsi in eam partem, ne me motum putares. Dii faxint, ut faciat ea, quæ promittit. Commune enim gaudium. Sed ego nihil dico amplius. Ad Att. 16. 1.

* Quod nisi fidem mihi fecisset, judicassemque hoc quod dico firmum fore, non fecissem id, quod dicturus sum. Duxi enim mecum adolescentem ad Brutum: sic ei probatum est, quod ad te scribo, ut ipse crediderit, me sponsorem accipere noluerit. Eumque laudans amicissime tui mentionem fecerit. Complexus, osculatusque dimiserit. Ad Att. 16. 5.

† Quintus scribit, se ex Nonis iis, quibus nos magna gessimus, Ædem Opis explicaturum, idque ad populum. Ad Att. 1[illegible].

being proscribed and murdered the year following, by Antony's order, together with Cicero himself.

Cicero was now ready for his voyage, and had provided three little yachts or galleys to transport himself and his attendants: but as there was a report of legions arriving daily from abroad, and of pirates also at sea, he thought it would be safer to sail in company with Brutus and Cassius, who had drawn together a fleet of good force, which now lay upon the coast.* He gave several hints of this design to Brutus, who received it more coldly than he expected; and seemed uncertain and irresolute about the time of his own going. He resolved, therefore, to embark without farther delay, though in some perplexity to the last, about the expediency of the voyage, and jealous of its being censured, as a desertion of his country; but Atticus kept up his spirits, by assuring him, constantly, in his letters, that all people approved it at Rome, provided that he kept his word of returning by the first of the new year.†

He sailed slowly along the coast towards Rhegium, going ashore every night to lodge with some friend or client: he spent one day at Velia, the native place of Trebatius; whence he wrote a kind letter to him, dated the nineteenth of July, advising him by no means to sell that family estate, as he then designed, situated so healthfully and agreeably, and affording a convenient retreat from the confusion of the times, among a people, who entirely

* Legiones enim adventare dicuntur. Hæc autem navigatio habet quasdam suspiciones periculi. Itaque constituebam uti ὁμοσπλοία. Paratiorem offendi Brutum, quam audiebam——Nam Cassii classem, quæ plane bella est, non numero ultra fretum. Ib. 16. 4.

† Bruto cum sæpe injecissem de ὁμοσπλοία, non perinde atque ego putaram, arripere visus est.—[Ib. 5.] Consilium meum quod ais quotidie magis laudari, non moleste fero; expectabamque, si quid ad me scriberes. Ego enim in varios sermones incidebam. Quin etiam idcirco trahebam, ut quam diutissime integrum esset. [Ib. 2. It. Ep. Fam. xi. 29.] Scribis enim in cœlum ferri profectionem meam, sed ita, si ante Kal. Jan. Redeam. Quod quidem certe enitar. [Ib. 6.] Ea mente discessi, ut adessem Kalendis Jan. quod initium cogendi Senatus fore videbatur. Philip. 1. 2.

loved him.* At this place he began his treatise of Topics, or the art of finding arguments on any question: it was an abstract of Aristotle's piece on the same subject; which Trebatius happening once to meet with in Cicero's Tusculan library, had begged of him to explain. But Cicero never found leisure for it till this voyage, in which he was reminded of the task by the sight of Velia; and though he had neither Aristotle, nor any other book to help him, he drew it up from his memory, and finished it as he sailed, before he came to Rhegium; whence he sent to Trebatius, with a letter dated the twenty-seventh. He excuses the obscurity of it from the nature of the argument, requiring great attention to understand, and great application to reduce it to practice: in which, however, he promises to assist him, if he lived to return, and found the republic subsisting.†

In the same voyage, happening to be looking over his treatise on the Academic Philosophy, he observed the preface of the third book to be the same that he had prefixed to his book on Glory, which he had lately sent to Atticus. It was his custom, it seems, to prepare at leisure a number of different proems, adapted to the general view of his studies, and ready to be applied to any of his works, which he should afterwards publish; so that, by mistake, he had used this preface twice, without remembering it: he composed a new one, therefore, on ship-board, for the piece on Glory, and sent it to Atticus, with orders to bind it up with his copy in the place of the former preface.‡

* Ep. Fam. 7. 20.

† Itaque ut primum Velia navigare cœpi, institui Topica Aristotelea conscribere, ab ipsa urbe commonitus, amantissima tui. Eum librum tibi misi Rhegio, scriptum quam plenissime illa res scribi potuit, &c. Ep. Fam. 7. 19.

‡ Nunc negligentiam meam cognosce. De Gloria librum ad te misi, at in eo proœmium id est, quod in Acade mico tertio. Id evenit ob eam rem, quod habeo volumen proœmiorum: ex eo eligere soleo, cum aliquod σύγγραμμα institui. Itaque jam in Tusculano, qui non meminissem me abusum isto proœmio, conjeci id in eum

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So wonderful was his industry and love of letters, that neither the inconvenience of sailing, which he always hated, nor the busy thoughts which must needs intrude upon him, on leaving Italy in such a conjuncture, could disturb the calm and regular pursuit of his studies.

From Rhegium, or rather Leucopetra, a promontory close by it, he passed over to Syracuse, on the first of August, where he staid but one night, though in a city particularly devoted to him, and under his special protection: but he was unwilling to give umbrage or suspicion to those at Rome, of having any views abroad, which concerned the republic:* he set sail, therefore, again the next morning towards Greece, but was driven back, by contrary winds, to Leucopetra; and, after a second attempt, with no better success, was forced to repose himself in the villa of his friend Valerius, and wait for the opportunity of a fair wind.†

Here the principal inhabitants of the country came to pay him their compliments: some of them

librum, quem tibi misi. Cum autem in navi legerem Academicos, agnovi erratum meum, itaque statum novum proœmium exaravi; tibi misi. Ad Att. 16. 6.

N. B. A collection of prefaces prepared beforehand, and calculated indifferently for any treatise, will be thought, perhaps, a strange and fantastical way of composing; but though they had no necessary connexion with the subject of any particular work, they were yet adapted to the general view of his writings, and contrived, severally, to serve the different ends, which he proposed by the publication of them. Thus, in some, he takes occasion to celebrate the praises of his principal friends, to whom they were addressed: in others, to enter into a general defence of philosophy, in answer to those who censured him for spending so much time upon it: in some he represents the miserable state of the times, and subversion of the republic, in a manner proper to alarm his citizens, and rouse them to assert their ancient liberty: in others, he contrives to give a beautiful description of some of his villas or gardens, where the scene of the dialogue was laid: all which the reader will find very agreeably executed in the prefaces of his philosophical pieces, which are yet connected so artfully with the treatises that follow them, and lead us so naturally into the argument, as if they had been originally contrived for the sake of introducing it. Vid. Tusc. Disp.—Init. de Divin. 2. 1. de Fin. 1. 1. de Leg. 2. 1.

* Kalendis sextil. veni Syracusas—quæ tamen urbs mihi conjunctissima, plus una me nocte cupiens retinere non potuit. Veritus sum, ne meus repentinus ad meos necessarios adventus suspicionis aliquid afferret, si essem commoratus. Philip. 1. 3.

† Cum me ex Sicilia ad Leucopetram, quod est promontorium agri Rhegini, venti detulissent: ab eo loco conscendi, transmitterem; nec ita multum provectus, rejectus austro sum in eum ipsum locum—[Ib.] ibi cum ventum expectarem: erat enim villa Valerii nostri, ut familiariter essem, et libenter. Ad Att. 16. 7.

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fresh from Rome, who brought great news of an unexpected turn of affairs there, towards a general pacification; that Antony seemed disposed to listen to reason, to desist from his pretensions to Gaul, submit to the authority of the senate, and make up matters with Brutus and Cassius, who had written circular letters to all the principal senators, to beg their attendance in the senate on the first of September, and that Cicero's absence was particularly regretted, and even blamed, at such a crisis.* This agreeable account of things made him presently drop all thoughts of pursuing his voyage, in which he was confirmed likewise by letters from Atticus, who, contrary to his former advice, pressed him now, in strong and pathetic terms, to come back again to Rome.

He returned, therefore, by the same course which he had before taken, and came back to Velia on the seventeenth of August: Brutus lay within three miles of it, with his fleet, and hearing of his arrival, came immediately on foot to salute him: he declared himself exceedingly pleased with Cicero's return; owned that he had never approved, though he had not dissuaded, the voyage, thinking it indecent to give advice to a man of his experience, but now told him, plainly, that he had escaped two great imputations on his character; the one, of too hasty a despair and desertion of the common cause; the other, of the vanity of going to see the Olympic games. This last, as Cicero says, would have been shameful for him, in any state of the republic; but, in the present, unpardonable; and professes himself, therefore, greatly obliged to the winds, for preserving him from such an infamy, and, like good

* Rhegini quidam, illustres homines eo venerunt, Roma sane recentes—hæc afferebant, Edictum Bruti et Cassii; et fore frequentem Senatum Kal. a Bruto et Cassio litteras missas ad Consulares et Prætorios; ut adessent, rogare. Summam spem nunciabant, fore, ut Antonius cederet, res conveniret, nostri Romam redirent. Addebant etiam me desiderari, subaccusari, &c. Ad Att. ib.

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citizens, blowing him back to the service of his country.*

Brutus informed him, likewise, of what had passed in the senate, on the first of August, and how Piso had signalized himself, by a brave and honest speech, and some vigorous motions in favour of the public liberty, in which nobody had the courage to second him: he produced also Antony's edict, and their answer to it, which pleased Cicero very much; but, on the whole, though he was still satisfied with his resolution of returning, yet he found no such reason for it as his first intelligence had suggested, nor any hopes of doing much service at Rome, where there was not one senator who had the† courage to support Piso, nor Piso himself the resolution to appear in the senate again the next day.

This was the last conference that he ever had with Brutus, who, together with Cassius, left Italy soon after it; they were both to succeed, of course, as all prætors did, at the expiration of their office, to the government of some province, which was assigned to them either by lot, or by an extraordinary decree of the senate. Cæsar had intended Macedonia for the one, and Syria for the other; but as these were two of the most important commands of the empire, and would throw a great power into their hands, at a time when their enemies were taking measures to destroy them, so Antony contrived to get two other provinces decreed to them of an inferior kind, —Crete to Brutus, and Cyrene to Cassius, and by a law of the people, procured Macedonia and Syria to be conferred upon himself, and his colleague, Dolabella; in consequence of which, he sent his brother Caius, in all haste, to possess himself of the

* Nam. xvi. Kal. Sept. cum venissem Veliam, Brutus audivit, erat enim cum suis navibus apud Heletem fluvium citra Veliam millia passuum III. pedibus ad me statim. Dii immortales, quam valde ille reditu, vel potius reversione me lætatus est? Effudit illa omnia, quæ tacuerat—se autem lætari quod effugissem quas maximas vituperationes, &c Ad Att. 16. 7. Vid. it. Ep. Fam. 12. 25. it. ad Brut. 15.

† Vid. Ad Att. Ib. Philip. 1. 4, 5. Ep. Fam. 12. 2.

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first, and Dolabella to secure the second, before their rivals could be in condition to seize them by force, of which they were much afraid, taking it for granted, that this was the project which Brutus and Cassius were now meditating. Cassius had acquired a great reputation in the east, by his conduct in the Parthian war, and Brutus was highly honoured in Greece, for his eminent virtue and love of philosophy: they resolved, therefore, to slight the petty provinces which were granted to them, and to try their fortunes in the more powerful ones that Cæsar had promised them; and, with that view, had provided the fleets abovementioned, to transport themselves to those countries, which they had destined for the scene of action; Brutus to Macedonia, Cassius to Syria, where we shall soon have occasion to give a farther account of their success.*

Cicero, in the meanwhile, pursued his journey towards Rome, where he arrived on the last of the month; on his approach to the city, such multitudes flocked out to meet him, that the whole day was spent in receiving the compliments and congratulations of his friends, as he passed along to his house.† The senate met the next morning, to which he was particularly summoned by Antony, but excused himself by a civil message, as being too much indisposed by the fatigue of his journey. Antony took this as an affront, and, in great rage, threatened, openly in the senate, to order his house to be pulled down, if he did not come immediately: till, by the interposition of the assembly, he was dissuaded from using any violence.‡

The business of the day was to decree some new and extraordinary honours to the memory of Cæsar,

* Plut. in Brut. App. 527, 533. Philip. 2. 15, 38.

† Plut. in Cic.

‡ Cumque de via languerem, mihique displicerem, nisi pro amicitia qui hoc ei diceret, at ille, vobis audientibus, cum fabris, se domum meam venturum esse dixit, &c. Philip. 1. 5.

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with a religious supplication to him, as to a divinity; Cicero was determined not to concur in it, yet knew that an opposition would not only be fruitless, but dangerous; and for that reason staid away. Antony, on the other hand, was desirous to have him there, fancying that he would either be frightened into a compliance, which would lessen him with his own party, or, by opposing what was intended, make himself odious to the soldiery; but as he was absent, the decree passed without any contradiction.

The senate met again the next day, when Antony thought fit to absent himself, and leave the stage clear to Cicero;* who accordingly appeared, and delivered the first of those speeches, which, in imitation of Demosthenes, were called afterwards his Philippics—he opens it with a particular account of the motives of his late voyage and sudden return; of his interview with Brutus, and his regret at leaving him: "at Velia," says he, "I saw Brutus: with "what grief I saw him, I need not tell you; I could "not but think it scandalous for me to return to a "city, from which he was forced to retire, and to "find myself safe in any place, where he could not "be so; yet Brutus was not half so much moved "with it as I, but supported by the consciousness "of his noble act, shewed not the least concern for "his own case, while he expressed the greatest for "your's."—He then declares, that he came to second Piso; and, in case of any accidents, of which many seemed to surround him, to leave that day's speech as a monument of his perpetual fidelity to his country.† Before he enters upon the state of the republic, he takes occasion to complain of the unprecedented violence of Antony's treatment of him the day before, who would not have been better pleased with him, had he been present; for he should never have consented to pollute the republic with so de-

* Veni postridie, ipse non venit. Philip. 5. 7. † Philip. 1. 4.

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testable a religion, and blend the honours of the gods with those of a dead man: he prays the gods to forgive both the senate and the people for their forced consent to it—that he would never have decreed it, though it had been to old Brutus himself, who first delivered Rome from regal tyranny, and, at the distance of five centuries, had propagated a race from the same stock, to do their country the same service.* He returns thanks to Piso, for what he had said in that place the month before: wishes that he had been present to second him; and reproves the other consulars for betraying their dignity, by deserting him.—As to the public affairs, he dwells chiefly on Antony's abuse of their decree, to confirm Cæsar's acts; declares himself still for the confirmation of them, not that he liked them, but for the sake of peace; yet, of the genuine acts only, such as Cæsar himself had completed; not the imperfect notes and memorandums of his pocket books; not every scrap of his writing; or what he had not even written, but spoken only, and that without a voucher—he charges Antony with a strange inconsistency, in pretending such a zeal for Cæsar's acts, yet violating the most solemn and authentic of them, his laws; of which he gives several examples: thinks it intolerable, to oblige them to the performance of all Cæsar's promises, yet annul so freely what ought to be held the most sacred and inviolable of any thing that he had done: he addresses himself pathetically to both the consuls, though Dolabella only was present; tells them, that they had no reason to resent his speaking so freely on the behalf of the republic: that he made no personal reflections: had not touched their characters, their lives, and manners: that if he offended in that way, he desired no quarter:† but if, according to his custom, he delivered himself with all freedom on pub-

* Philip. 5. 6. † Ib. 7. 11.

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lic affairs, he begged, in the first place, that they would not be angry; in the next, that if they were, they would express their anger, as became citizens, by civil, not military methods; that he had been admonished, indeed, not to expect, that the same liberty would be allowed to him, the enemy of Cæsar, which had been indulged to Piso, his father-in-law; that Antony would resent whatever was said against his will, though free from personal injury; if so, he must bear it as well as he could—then, after touching on their plundering the Temple of Opis, of those sums which might have been of great service to the state, he observes, that whatever the vulgar might think, money was not the thing which they aimed at; that their souls were too noble for that, and had greater designs in view;* but they quite mistook the road to glory, if they thought it to consist in a single man's having more power than a whole people—that to be dear to our citizens, to deserve well of our country, to be praised, respected, beloved, was truly glorious; to be feared and hated, always invidious, detestable, weak, and tottering—that Cæsar's fate was a warning to them, how much better it was to be loved than to be feared: that no man could live happy, who held life on such terms that it might be taken from him, not only with impunity, but with praise.† He puts them in mind of the many public demonstrations of the people's disaffection to them, and their constant applauses and acclamations to those who opposed them, to which he begs them to attend with more care, in order to learn the way how to be truly great and glorious.—He concludes, by declaring, that he had now reaped the full fruit of his return, by giving this public testimony of his constant adherence to the interests of his country: that he would use the same liberty oftener, if he found that he could do it with safety: if not, would

* Philip. 12. † Ib. 14.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss.—M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

reserve himself, as well as he could, to better times, not so much out of regard to himself, as to the republic.

In speaking afterwards of this day's debate, he says, that whilst the rest of the senate behaved like slaves, he alone shewed himself to be free; and though he spoke, indeed, with less freedom than it had been his custom to do, yet it was with more than the dangers, with which he was threatened, seemed to allow.* Antony was greatly enraged at his speech, and summoned another meeting of the senate for the nineteenth, where he again required Cicero's attendance, being resolved to answer him in person, and justify his own conduct: for which end he employed himself, during the interval, in preparing the materials of a speech, and declaiming against Cicero in his villa near Tibur. The senate met on the appointed day, in the Temple of Concord, whither Antony came with a strong guard, and in great expectation of meeting Cicero, whom he had endeavoured, by artifice, to draw thither: but though Cicero himself was ready and desirous to go, yet his friends overruled and kept him at home, being apprehensive of some design intended against his life.†

Antony's speech confirmed their apprehensions, in which he poured out the overflowings of his spleen with such fury against him, that Cicero, alluding to what he had done a little before, in public, says, that he seemed once more rather to spew than to speak.‡ He produced Cicero's letter to him, about the restoration of S. Clodius, in which Cicero acknowledged him, not only for his friend,

* Locutus sum de Repub. minus equidem libere, quam mea consuetudo, liberius tamen quam periculi minæ postulabant. Philip. 5. 7.

In summa reliquorum servitute liber unus fui. Ep. Fam. 12. 25.

† Quo die, si per amicos mihi cupienti, in Senatum venire licuisset, cædis initium fecisset a me. Philip. 5. 7.

Meque cum elicere vellet in cædis causam, tum tentaret insidiis. Ep. Fam. 12. 25.

‡ Itaque omnibus est visus, ut ad te antea scripsi, vomere suo more, non dicere. Ib. 2.

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but a good citizen; as if the letter was a confutation of his speech, and Cicero had other reasons for quarrelling with him now, than the pretended service of the public.* But the chief thing with which he urged him was, his being not only privy to the murder of Cæsar, but the contriver of it, as well as the author of every step, which the conspirators had since taken: by this he hoped to inflame the soldiers to some violence, whom he had planted for that purpose about the avenues of the temple, and within hearing even of their debates. Cicero, in his account of it to Cassius, says, that he should not scruple to own a share in the act, if he could have a share in the glory: but that, if he had really been concerned in it, they should never have left the work half finished.†

He had resided all this while in Rome, or the neighbourhood; but as a breach with Antony was now inevitable, he thought it necessary, for his security, to remove to a greater distance, to some of his villas near Naples. Here he composed his second Philippic, by way of reply to Antony; not delivered in the senate, as the tenor of it seems to imply, but finished in the country, nor intended to be published, till things were actually come to extremity, and the occasions of the republic made it necessary to render Antony's character and designs as odious as possible to the people. The oration is a most bitter invective on his whole life, describing it as a perpetual scene of lewdness, faction, violence, rapine, heightened with all the colours of wit and eloquence—it was greatly admired by the ancients, and shews that, in the decline of life, Cicero had lost no share of that fire and spirit, with which his earlier productions are animated: but he never had a cause more interesting, or where he

* Atque etiam litteras, quas me sibi misisse diceret, recitavit, &c. Philip. 2. 4.

† Nullam aliam ob caussam me auctorem fuisse Cæsaris interficiendi criminatur, nisi ut in me veterani incitentur. Ep. Fam. 12. 2. vid. 3. 4.

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had greater reason to exert himself: he knew that in case of a rupture, for which alone the piece was calculated, either Antony or the republic must perish; and he was determined to risk his own life upon the quarrel, nor bear the indignity of outliving a second time the liberty of his country.

He sent a copy of this speech to Brutus and Cassius, who were infinitely pleased with it: they now at last clearly saw, that Antony meditated nothing but war, and that their affairs were growing daily more and more desperate; and being resolved, therefore, to leave Italy, they took occasion, a little before their departure, to write the following letter in common to Antony.

"BRUTUS AND CASSIUS, PRÆTORS, TO ANTONY, CONSUL.

"If you are in good health, it is a pleasure to "us. We have read your letter, exactly of a piece "with your edict, abusive, threatening, wholly un- "worthy to be sent from you to us. For our part, "Antony, we have never done you any injury; nor "imagined that you would think it strange, that "prætors, and men of our rank, should require any "thing by edict of a consul: but if you are angry "that we have presumed to do it, give us leave to "be concerned, that you would not indulge that "privilege, at least, to Brutus and Cassius; for as "to our raising troops, exacting contributions, soli- "citing armies, sending expresses beyond sea; since "you deny that you ever complained of it, we be- "lieve you; and take it as a proof of your good in- "tention: we do not, indeed, own any such prac- "tices; yet think it strange, when you objected no- "thing of that kind, that you could not contain "yourself from reproaching us with the death of "Cæsar. Consider with yourself, whether it is to "be endured, that, for the sake of the public quiet

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"and liberty, prætors cannot depart from their "rights by edict, but the consul must presently "threaten them with arms. Do not think to fright-"en us with such threats; it is not agreeable to our "character to be moved by any danger: nor must "Antony pretend to command those, by whose "means he now lives free. If there were other rea-"sons to dispose us to raise a civil war, your letter "would have no effect to hinder it: for threats can "have no influence on those who are free. But "you know, very well, that it is not possible for "us to be driven to any thing against our will; and, "for that reason, perhaps, you threaten, that what-"ever we do, it may seem to be the effect of fear. "These, then, are our sentiments: we wish to see "you live with honour and splendour in a free re-"public; have no desire to quarrel with you; yet "value our liberty more than your friendship. It "is your business to consider again and again what "you attempt, and what you can maintain; and to "reflect, not how long Cæsar lived, but how short a "time he reigned: we pray the gods, that your "counsels may be salutary, both to the republic "and to yourself; if not, wish, at least, that they "may hurt you as little as may consist with the "safety and dignity of the republic."*

Octavius perceived, by this time, that there was nothing to be done for him in the city against a consul, armed with superior power, both civil and military; and was so far provoked by the ill usage which he had received, that in order to obtain, by stratagem, what he could not gain by force, he formed a design against Antony's life, and actually provided certain slaves to assassinate him, who were discovered and seized with their poignards in Antony's house, as they were watching an opportunity to execute their plot. The story was supposed, by

* Ep. Fam. xi. 3.

many, to be forged by Antony, to justify his treatment of Octavius, and his depriving him of the estate of his uncle: but all men of sense, as Cicero says, both believed and applauded it; and the greatest part of the old writers treat it as an undoubted fact.*

They were both of them equally suspected by the senate, but Antony more immediately dreaded, on the account of his superior power, and supposed credit with the soldiers, whom he had served with, through all the late wars, and on several occasions commanded. Here his chief strength lay; and, to ingratiate himself more and more openly every day against the conspirators; threatening them in his edicts, and discovering a resolution to revenge the death of Cæsar; to whom he erected a statue in the rostra, and inscribed it—To the most worthy parent of his country. Cicero speaking of this, in a letter to Cassius, says, "Your friend Antony grows every "day more furious, as you see from the inscription "of his statue; by which he makes you, not only "murderers, but parricides. But why do I say you, "and not rather us? for the madman affirms me to "be the author of your noble act. I wish that I had "been; for, if I had, he would not have been so "troublesome to us as at this time.†

Octavius was not less active in soliciting his uncle's soldiers, sparing neither pains nor money that could tempt them to his service: and, by outbidding Antony, in all his offers and bribes to them, met with greater success than was expected, so as

* De quo multitudini fictum ab Antonio crimen videtur, ut in pecuniam adolescentis impetum faceret. Prudentes autem et boni viri et credunt factum et probant. [Ep. Fam. 12. 23.] Insidiis M. Antonii Consulis latus petierat. [Sen. de Clem. l. 1. 9.]

Hortantibus itaque nonnullis percussores ei subornavit. Hac fraude deprehensa, &c. Sueton. August. x. Plut. in Anton.

† Auget tuus amicus furorem indies, primum in statua, quam posuit in rostris, inscripsit, PARENTI OPTIME MERITO. Ut non modo sicarii, sed jam etiam parricidæ judicemini. Quid dico judicemini? judicemur potius. Vestri enim pulcherrimi facti ille furiosus me principem dicit fuisse. Utinam quidem fuissem, molestus non esset. Ep. Fam. 12. 3.

to draw together, in a short time, a firm and regular army of veterans, completely furnished with all necessaries for present service. But as he had no public character to justify this conduct, which, in regular times, would have been deemed treasonable, so he paid the greater court to the republican chiefs, in hopes to get his proceedings authorized by the senate; and, by the influence of his troops, procure the command of the war to himself: he now, therefore, was continually pressing Cicero, by letters and friends, to come to Rome, and support him, with his authority, against their common enemy, Antony; promising to govern himself, in every step, by his advice.

But Cicero could not yet be persuaded to enter into his affairs: he suspected his youth and want of experience, and that he had not strength enough to deal with Antony: and, above all, that he had no good disposition towards the conspirators: he thought it impossible that he should ever be a friend to them, and was persuaded rather, that, if ever he got the upper hand, his uncle's acts would be more violently enforced, and his death more cruelly revenged, than by Antony himself.* These considerations withheld him from an union with him, till the exigencies of the republic made it absolutely necessary; nor did he consent at last, without making it an express condition, that Octavius should employ all his forces in defence of the common liberty, and particularly of Brutus and his accomplices, where his chief care and caution still was, to arm him only with a power sufficient to oppress Antony, yet so checked and limited, that he should not be able to oppress the republic.

This is evident from many of his epistles to Atti-

* Valde tibi assentior, si multum possit Octavianus, multo firmius acta Tyranni comprobatum iri, quam in Telluris, atque id contra Brutum fore—sed in isto Juvene quanquam animi satis, auctoritatis parum est. Ad Att. 16. 14.

cus: "I had a letter," says he, "from Octavianus, "on the first of November: his designs are great: "he has drawn over all the veterans of Casilinum "and Calatia; and no wonder;—he gives sixteen "pounds a man. He proposes to make the tour "of the other colonies: his view plainly is, to have "the command of the war against Antony; so that "we shall be in arms in a few days. But which "of them shall we follow? Consider his name; "his age: he begs to have a private conference with "me at Capua or near it: it is childish to imagine "that it could be private: I gave him to understand, "that it was neither necessary nor practicable. He "sent to me one Cæcina of Volaterræ, who brought "word, that Antony was coming towards the city, "with the legion of the Alaudæ:* that he raised "contributions from all the great towns, and march-"ed with colours displayed: he asked my advice, "whether he should advance before him to Rome, "with three thousand veterans, or keep the post of "Capua, and oppose his progress there, or go to "the three Macedonian legions, who were marching "along the upper coast, and are, as he hopes, in his "interest—they would not take Antony's money, as "this Cæcina says, but even affronted and left him, "while he was speaking to them. In short, he offers "himself for our leader, and thinks that we ought "to support him. I advised him to march to Rome; "for he seems likely to have the meaner people on "his side, and, if he makes good what he promises,

*This legion of the Alaudæ was first raised by J. Cæsar, and composed of the natives of Gaul, armed and disciplined after the Roman manner, to which he gave the freedom of Rome. He called it by a Gallic name, Alaudæ, which signified a kind of lark, or little bird, with a tuft or crest rising upon its head, in imitation of which, this legion wore a crest of feathers on the helmet, from which origin the word was adopted into the Latin tongue. Antony, out of compliment to these troops, and to assure himself of their fidelity, had lately made a judiciary law, by which he erected a third class of judges, to be drawn from the officers of this legion, and added to the other two of the senators and knights; for which Cicero often reproaches him, as a most infan ous prostitution of the dignity of the republic. Philip. 1. 8.

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"the better sort too. O Brutus, where art thou? "What an opportunity dost thou lose? I did not, "indeed, foresee this, yet thought that something "like it would happen. Give me your advice: shall "I come away to Rome, stay where I am, or retire "to Arpinum? where I shall be the safest. I had "rather be at Rome, lest, if any thing should be "done, I should be wanted: resolve, therefore, for "me: I never was in greater perplexity."*

Again:—"I had two letters, the same day, from "Octavius: he presses me to come immediately to "Rome; is resolved, he says, to do nothing without "the senate. I tell him, that there can be no senate "till the first of January, which I take to be true: "he adds, also, nor without my advice.—In a word, "he urges;—I hang back: I cannot trust his age; "do not know his real intentions; will do nothing "without Pansa; am afraid that Antony may prove "too strong for him, and unwilling to stir from the "sea, yet would not have any thing vigorous done "without me. Varro does not like the conduct of "the boy,—but I do. He has firm troops, and may "join with D. Brutus: what he does, he does "openly; musters his soldiers at Capua; pays them. "We shall have a war, I see, instantly."†

Again:—"I have letters every day from Octa- "vianus, to undertake his affairs; to come to him "at Capua; to save the state a second time: he re- "solves to come directly to Rome.

* "Urg'd to the fight, 'tis shameful to refuse,
"Whilst fear yet prompts the safer part to choose.
Hom. Il. κ.

"He has hitherto acted, and acts still, with vigour, "and will come to Rome with a great force. Yet "he is but a boy: he thinks the senate may be "called immediately: but who will come?—or, if

* Ad Att. 16. 8. † Ib. 9.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss.—M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

"they do, who, in this uncertainty of affairs, will de-
"clare against Antony?—he will be a good guard
"to us on the first of January; or, it may come,
"perhaps, to blows, before. The great towns favour
"the boy strangely: they flock to him from all parts,
"and exhort him to proceed: could you ever have
"thought it?"* There are many other passages of the same kind, expressing a diffidence of Octavius, and inclination to sit still, and let them fight it out between themselves; till the exigency of affairs made their union at last mutually necessary to each other.

In the hurry of all these politics, he was prosecuting his studies still, with his usual application, and, besides the second Philippic, already mentioned, now finished his book of Offices, or the Duties of Man, for the use of his son;† a work admired by all succeeding ages, as the most perfect system of heathen morality, and the noblest effort and specimen of what mere reason could do, towards guiding man through life with innocence and happiness. He now also drew up, as it is thought, his Stoical Paradoxes, or an illustration of the peculiar doctrines of that sect, from the examples and characters of their own countrymen, which he addressed to Brutus.

Antony left Rome about the end of September, in order to meet, and engage to his service, four legions from Macedonia, which had been sent thither by Cæsar, on their way towards Parthia, and were now, by his orders, returning to Italy. He thought himself sure of them, and by their help to be master of the city: but, on his arrival at Brundisium on the eighth of October, three of the legions, to his great surprise, rejected all his offers, and refused to follow him. This affront so enraged him, that, calling together all the centurions, whom he suspected to be the authors of their disaffection, he ordered them to be massacred in his own lodgings, to the number of

* Ad Att. 11. † Ib.

three hundred, while he and his wife Fulvia stood calmly looking on, to satiate their cruel revenge by the blood of these brave men: after which, he marched back towards Rome, by the Appian Road, at the head of the single legion which submitted to him, whilst the other three took their rout along the Adriatic coast, without declaring yet for any side.*

He returned full of rage, both against Octavius and the republicans, and determined to make what use he could of the remainder of his consulship, in wresting the provinces and military commands out of the hands of his enemies, and distributing them to his friends. He published, at the same time, several fierce and threatening edicts, in which he gave Octavius the name of Spartacus; reproached him with the ignobleness of his birth; charged Cicero with being the author of all his counsels; abused young Quintus as a perfidious wretch, who had offered to kill both his father and uncle; forbade three of the tribunes, on pain of death, to appear in the senate, Q. Cassius, the brother of the conspirator, Carfulenus, and Canutius.† In this humour, he summoned the senate on the twenty-fourth of October, with severe threats to those who should absent themselves; yet he himself neglected to come, and adjourned it, by edict, to the twenty-eighth: but while all people were in expectation of

* Ad d. vii. Id. Octob. Brundisium erat profectus, Antonius, obviam legionibus Macedonicis iiii, quas sibi conciliare pecunia cogitabat, easque ad Urbem adducere. Ep. Fam. 12. 23.

Quippe qui in hospitis tectis Brundisii fortissimos viros, cives optimos, jugulari jusserit: quorum ante pedes ejus morientium sanguine os uxoris respersum esse constabat. Philip. 3. 2.

Cum ejus promissis legiones fortissimæ reclamassent, domum ad se venire jussit Centuriones, quos bene de Repub. sentire cognoverat, eosque ante pedes suos, uxorisque suæ, quam secum gravis Imperator ad exercitum duxerat, jugulari coegit. Philip. 5. 8.

† Primum in Cæsarem ut maledicta congessit—ignobilitatem objicit C. Cæsaris filio.—[Philip. 3. 6.] Quem in edictis Spartacum appellat. [Ib. 8.] Q. Ciceronem, fratris mei filium compellat edicto—ausus est scribere, hunc de Patris et Patrui parricidio cogitasse. [Ib. 7.] Quid autem attinuerit, Q. Cassio—mortem denunciare si in Senatum venisset. D. Carfulenum—e Senatu vi et mortis minis expellere: Tib. Canutium—non templo solum, sed aditu prohibere capitolii. Ib. 9.

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some extraordinary decrees from him, and of one particularly* which he had prepared, to declare young Cæsar a public enemy,* he happened to receive the news that two of the legions from Brundisium, the fourth, and that which was called the martial, had actually declared for Octavius, and posted themselves at Alba, in the neighbourhood of Rome.† This shocked him so much, that instead of prosecuting what he had projected, he only huddled over, what nobody opposed, a decree of a supplication to Lepidus: and the same evening, after he had distributed to his friends, by a pretended allotment, the several provinces of the empire, which few or none of them durst accept, from so precarious a title, he changed the habit of the consul for that of the general, and left the city with precipitation, to put himself at the head of his army, and possess himself, by force, of Cisalpine Gaul, assigned to him by a pretended law of the people against the will of the senate.‡

On the news of his retreat, Cicero presently quitted his books and the country, and set out towards Rome: he seemed to be called by the voice of the republic to take the reins once more into his hands. The field was now open to him: there was not a consul, and scarce a single prætor in the city, nor any troops from which he could apprehend danger. He arrived on the ninth of December, and immediately conferred with Pansa, for Hirtius lay very ill, about the measures proper to be taken on their approaching entrance into the consulship.

Before his leaving the country, Oppius had been

* Cum senatum vocasset, adhibuissetque Consularem, qui sua sententia C. Cæsarem hostem judicaret. Philip. 5. 9. App. 556.

† Postea vero quam Legio Martia ducem præstantissimum vidit, nihil egit aliud, nisi ut aliquando liberi essemus: quam est imitata quarta Legio. Philip. 5. 8. Atque ea Legio consedit Albæ, &c. Philip. 3. 8.

‡ Fugere festinans S. C. de supplicatione per discessionem fecit—præclara tamen. S. Cta. eo ipso die vespertina provinciarum religiosa sortitio—L. Lentulus et P. Naso—nullam se habere provinciam, nullam Antonii sortitionem fuisse judicarunt. Philip. 3. 9. x.

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with him, to press him again to undertake the affairs of Octavius, and the protection of his troops; but his answer was, that he could not consent to it, unless he were first assured that Octavius would not only be no enemy, but even a friend to Brutus: that he could be of no service to Octavius till the first of January, and there would be an opportunity before that time of trying Octavius's disposition in the case of Casca, who had been named by Cæsar to the tribunate, and was to enter upon it on the tenth of December: for, if Octavius did not oppose or disturb his admission, that would be a proof of his good intentions.* Oppius undertook for all this, on the part of Octavius, and Octavius himself confirmed it, and suffered Casca, who gave the first blow to Cæsar, to enter quietly into his office.

The new tribunes, in the mean time, in the absence of the superior magistrates, called a meeting of the senate on the nineteenth: Cicero had resolved not to appear there any more, till he should be supported by the new consuls: but happening to receive the day before the edict of D. Brutus, by which he prohibited Antony the entrance of his province, and declared that he would defend it against him by force, and preserve it in its duty to the senate, he thought it necessary, for the public service, and the present encouragement of Brutus, to procure, as soon as possible, some public declaration in his favour: he went, therefore, to the senate very early, which, being observed by the other senators, presently drew together a full house, in expectation of hearing his sentiments in so nice and critical a situation of public affairs.†

* Sed ut scribis, certissimum esse video discrimen Cascæ nostri Tribunatum: de quo quidem ipso dixi Oppio, cum me hortaretur, ut adolescentemque totumque causam, manumque veteranorum complecterer, me nullo modo facere posse, ni mihi exploratum esset, eum non modo non inimicum tyrannoctonis, verum etiam amicum fore; cum ille diceret, ita futurum. Quid igitur festinamus? inquam. Illi enim mea opera ante Kal. Jan. nihil opus est. Nos autem ante Id. Decemb. ejus voluntatem perspicienius in Casca. Mihi valde assensus est. Ad Att. 16. 15.

† Cum Tribuni pleb. edixissent, Senatus adesset a. d. 13 Kal. Jan. haberentque

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss.—M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

He saw the war actually commenced in the very bowels of Italy, on the success of which depended the fate of Rome: that Gaul would certainly be lost, and with it, probably, the republic, if Brutus was not supported against the superior force of Antony: that there was no way of doing it so ready and effectual, as by employing Octavius and his troops: and though the entrusting him with that commission would throw a dangerous power into his hands, yet it would be controlled by the equal power and superior authority of the two consuls, who were to be joined with him in the same command.

The senate being assembled, the tribunes acquainted them, that the business of that meeting was, to provide a guard for the security of the new consuls, and the protection of the senate, in the freedom of their debates; but that they gave a liberty withal of taking the whole state of the republic into consideration. Upon this Cicero opened the debate, and represented to them the danger of their present condition, and the necessity of speedy and resolute councils against an enemy, who lost no time in attempting their ruin. That they had been ruined, indeed, before, had it not been for the courage and virtue of young Cæsar, who, contrary to all expectation, and without being even desired to do, what no man thought possible for him to do, had, by his private authority and expense, raised a strong army of veterans, and baffled the designs of Antony: that if Antony had succeeded at Brundisium, and prevailed with the legions to follow him, he would have filled the city, at his return, with blood and slaughter: that it was their part to authorize and confirm what Cæsar had done; and to empower

in animo de præsidio Consulem designatorum referre, quanquam statueram in Senatum ante Kal. Jan. non venire: tamen cum eo ipso die edictum tuum propositum esset, nefas esse duxi, aut ita haberi Senatum, ut de tuis divinis in Remp. meritis sicleretur, quod factum esset, nisi ego venissem, aut etiam si quid de te non honorifice diceretur, me non adesse. Itaque in Senatum veni mane. Quod cum esset animadversum, frequentissimi Senatores convenerunt. Ep. Fam. xi. 6.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss.—M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

him to do more, by employing his troops in the farther service of the state; and to make a special provision also for the two legions, which had declared for him against Antony.* As to D. Brutus, who had promised, by edict, to preserve Gaul in the obedience of the senate, that he was a citizen born for the good of the republic; the imitator of his ancestors; nay, had even exceeded their merit; for the first Brutus expelled a proud king—he a fellow subject, far more proud and profligate; that Tarquin, at the time of his expulsion, was actually making war for the people of Rome; but Antony, on the contrary, had actually begun a war against them. That it was necessary, therefore, to confirm by public authority, what Brutus had done by private, in preserving the province of Gaul, the flower of Italy, and the bulwark of the empire.—† Then, after largely inveighing against Antony's character, and enumerating particularly all his cruelties and violences, he exhorts them, in a pathetic manner, to act with courage in defence of the republic, or die bravely in the attempt: that now was the time either to recover their liberty, or to live for ever slaves: that if the fatal day was come, and Rome was destined to perish, it would be a shame for them, the governors of the world, not to fall with as much courage as gladiators were used to do, and die with dignity, rather than live with disgrace. He puts them in mind of the many advantages which they had towards encouraging their hopes and resolution; the body of the people, alert and eager in the cause; young Cæsar in the guard of the city; Brutus of Gaul; two consuls of the greatest prudence, virtue, concord between themselves; who had been meditating nothing else, for many months past, but the public tranquillity: to all which he promises his own attention and vigilance, both

* Philip. 3. 1, 2, 3. † Ib. 3. 5.

day and night, for their safety.* On the whole, therefore, he gives his vote and opinion, that the new consuls, C. Pansa and A. Hirtius, should take care that the senate may meet with security on the first of January: that D. Brutus, emperor and consul elect, had merited greatly of the republic, by defending the authority and liberty of the senate and people of Rome: that his army, the towns and colonies of his province, should be publicly thanked and praised for their fidelity to him; that it should be declared to be of the last consequence to the republic, that D. Brutus and L. Plancus, (who commanded the farther Gaul) emperor and consul elect, as well as all others, who had the command of provinces, should keep them in their duty to the senate, till successors were appointed by the senate: and since, by the pains, virtue, and conduct of young Cæsar, and the assistance of the veteran soldiers who followed him, the republic had been delivered, and was still defended from the greatest dangers; and since the martial and fourth legions, under that excellent citizen and quæstor, Egnatuleius, had voluntarily declared for the authority of the senate, and the liberty of the people, that the senate should take special care that due honours and thanks be paid to them for their eminent services; and, that the new consuls, on their entrance into office, should make it their first business to see all this executed in proper form: to all which the house unanimously agreed, and ordered a decree to be drawn conformably to his opinion.

From the senate he passed directly to the Forum, and, in a speech to the people, gave an account of what had passed; he begins, by signifying his joy to see so great a concourse about him, greater than he had ever remembered, a sure omen of their good inclinations, and an encouragement both to his en-

* Philip. 14, &c.

deavours and his hopes of recovering the republic. Then he repeats with some variation, what he had delivered in the senate, of the praises of Cæsar and Brutus, and the wicked designs of Antony: that the race of the Brutuses was given to them by the special providence of the gods, for the perpetual defenders and deliverers of the republic:* that, by what the senate had decreed, they had, in fact, though not in express words, declared Antony a public enemy: that they must consider him, therefore, as such, and no longer as consul: that they had to deal with an enemy, with whom no terms of peace could be made; who thirsted not so much after their liberty as their blood: to whom no sport was so agreeable, as to see citizens butchered before his eyes: that the gods, however, by portents and prodigies, seemed to foretel his speedy downfall, since such a consent and union of all ranks against him could never have been effected, but by a Divine influence,† &c.

These speeches, which stand the third and fourth in the order of his Philippics, were extremely well received both by the senate and people: speaking afterwards of the latter of them to the same people, he says, "If that day had put an end to my life, "I had reaped sufficient fruit from it, when you all, "with one mind and voice, cried out, that I had "twice saved the Republic."† As he had now broken all measures with Antony, beyond the possibility of a reconciliation, so he published, probably, about this time, his second Philippic, which had hitherto been communicated only to a few friends, whose approbation it had received.

The short remainder of this turbulent year was spent in preparing arms and troops for the guard

* Philip. 4. 5. † Ib. 4, &c.

‡ Quo quidem tempore, etiam si ille dies vitæ finem mihi allaturus esset, satis magnum ceperam fructum, cum vos universi una mente ac voce iterum a me conservatam esse Remp. conclamastis. Philip. 6. 1.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss.—M. Antonius. P. Cornelius Dolabella.

of the new consuls, and the defence of the state: and the new levies were carried on with the greater diligence, for the certain news that was brought to Rome, that Antony was actually besieging Modena, into which Brutus, unable to oppose him in the field, had thrown himself, with all his forces, as the strongest town of his province, and the best provided to sustain a siege. Young Cæsar, in the meanwhile, without expecting the orders of the senate, but with the advice of Cicero, by which he now governed himself in every step, marched out of Rome, at the head of his troops, and followed Antony into the province, in order to observe his motions, and take all occasions of distressing him: as well as to encourage Brutus to defend himself with vigour, till the consuls could bring up the grand army, which they were preparing for his relief.

SECTION X.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

On the opening of the year, the city was in great expectation to see what measures their new consuls would pursue: they had been at school, as it were, all the summer to Cicero, forming the plan of their administration, and taking their lessons of government from him, and seem to have been brought entirely into his general view, of establishing the peace and liberty of the republic, on the foundation of an amnesty. But their great obligations to Cæsar, and long engagements with that party, to which they owed all their fortunes, had left some scruples in them, which gave a check to their zeal, and disposed them to act with more moderation against old friends, than the condition of the times would allow; and, before the experiment of arms, to try the gentler method of a treaty.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

With these sentiments, as soon as they were inaugurated, they entered into a deliberation with the senate, on the present state of the republic, in order to perfect what had been resolved upon at their last meeting, and to contrive some farther means for the security of the public tranquillity. They both spoke with great spirit and firmness, offering themselves as leaders, in asserting the liberty of their country, and exhorting the assembly to courage and resolution in the defence of so good a cause:* and when they had done, they called upon Q. Fufius Calenus, to deliver his sentiments the first. He had been consul four years before, by Cæsar's nomination, and was father-in-law to Pansa, which, by custom, was a sufficient ground for paying him that compliment: Cicero's opinion was already well known: he was for the shortest and readiest way of coming at their end, by declaring Antony a public enemy, and, without loss of time, acting against him by open force: but this was not relished by the consuls, who called, therefore, upon Calenus, to speak first, that, as he was a fast friend to Antony, and sure to be on the moderate side, he might instil some sentiments of that sort into the senate, before Cicero had made a contrary impression. Calenus's opinion, therefore, was, that before they proceeded to acts of hostility, they should send an embassy to Antony, to admonish him to desist from his attempt upon Gaul, and submit to the authority of the senate: Piso and several others were of the same mind, alleging it to be unjust and cruel to condemn a man, till they had first heard what he had to say for himself.

But Cicero opposed this motion with great warmth, not only as vain and foolish, but dangerous and pernicious: he declared it dishonourable to treat with any one, who was in arms against his

* Ut oratio Consulum animum meum erexit, spemque attulit non modo salutis conservandæ, verum etiam dignitatis pristinæ recuperandæ. Philip. 5. 1.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

country, until he laid them down, and sued for peace; in which case no man would be more moderate or equitable than himself: that they had in effect proclaimed him an enemy already, and had nothing left but to confirm it by a decree, when he was besieging one of the great towns of Italy, a colony of Rome, and in it their consul elect, and general, Brutus: he observed from what motives those other opinions proceeded; from particular friendships, relations, private obligations, but that a regard to their country was superior to them all: that the real point before them was, whether Antony should be suffered to oppress the republic; to mark out whom he pleased to destruction; to plunder the city, and enslave the citizens—.* That this was his sole view, he shewed from a long detail, not only of his acts, but of his express declarations: for he had said, in the temple of Castor, in the hearing of the people, that whenever it came to blows, no man should remain alive, who did not conquer: and, in another speech, that when he was out of his consulship, he would keep an army still about the city, and enter it whenever he thought fit: that in a letter, which Cicero himself had seen, to one of his friends, he bade him to mark out for himself what estate he would have, and whatever it was, he should certainly have it:† that, to talk of sending ambassadors to such an one, was to betray their ignorance of the constitution of the republic, the majesty of the Roman people, and the discipline of their ancestors:‡ that whatever was the purpose of their message, it would signify nothing: if to beg him to be quiet, he would despise it; if to command him, would not obey it: that, without any possible good, it would be a certain damage; would necessarily create delay and obstruction to the operations of the war; check the zeal of the army; damp the spirits of the people, whom

* Philip. 5. 1, 2, 3. † Ib. 8. 12. ‡ Ib. 9.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

they now saw so brisk and eager in the cause: that the greatest revolutions of affairs were effected often by trifling incidents; and, above all, in civil wars, which were generally governed by popular rumour: that how vigorous soever their instructions were to the ambassadors, that they would be little regarded: the very name of an embassy implied a diffidence and fear, which was sufficient to cool the order of their friends:* they might order him to retire from Modena; to quit the province of Gaul; but this was not to be obtained by words, but extorted by arms: that while the ambassadors were going and coming, people would be in doubt and suspense about the success of their negotiation; and, under the expectation of a doubtful war, what progress could they hope to make in their levies? that his opinion, therefore, was, to make no farther mention of an embassy, but to enter instantly into action: that there should be a cessation of all civil business; public tumult proclaimed; the shops shut up; and that, instead of their usual gown, they should all put on the sagum, or habit of war: and that levies of soldiers should be made in Rome, and through Italy, without any exception of privilege or dismission from service: that the very fame of this vigour would restrain the madness of Antony, and let the world see that the case was not, as he pretended, a struggle only of contending parties, but a real war against the commonwealth: that the whole republic should be committed to the consuls, to take care that it received no detriment: that pardon should be offered to those of Antony's army, who should return to their duty before the first of February: that if they did not come to this resolution now, they would be forced to do it afterwards, when it would be too late, perhaps, or less effectual.†

* Philip. 10. † Ib. 10. 12.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

This was the sum of what he advised as to their conduct towards Antony: he next proceeded to the other subject of their debate—the honours which were ordered to be decreed at their last meeting, and began with D. Brutus, as consul elect; in favour of whom, besides many high expressions of praise, he proposed a decree to this effect:—Whereas D. Brutus, emperor, consul elect, now holds the province of Gaul in the power of the senate, and people of Rome; and, by the cheerful assistance of the towns and colonies of his province, has drawn together a great army in a short time; that he has done all this rightly and regularly, and for the service of the state; and that it is the sense, therefore, of the senate and people, that the republic has been relieved, in a most difficult conjuncture, by the pains, counsel, virtue of D. Brutus, emperor, consul elect, and by the incredible zeal and concurrence of the province of Gaul. He moved also for an extraordinary honour to M. Lepidus, who had no pretension to it, indeed, from past services, but, being now at the head of the best army in the empire, was in condition to do the most good or ill to them of any man. This was the ground of the compliment; for his faith being suspected, and his union with Antony dreaded, Cicero hoped, by this testimony of their confidence, to confirm him in the interests of the senate: but he seems to be hard put to it, for a pretext of merit to ground his decree upon: he takes notice, that Lepidus was always moderate in power, and a friend to liberty: that he gave a signal proof it, when Antony offered the diadem to Cæsar; for, by turning away his face, he publicly testified his aversion to slavery, and that his compliance with the times was through necessity, not choice: that, since Cæsar's death, he had practised the same moderation; and when a bloody war was revived in Spain, chose to put an end to

it, by the methods of prudence and humanity, rather than by arms and the sword, and consented to the restoration of S. Pompey;* for which reason he proposed the following decree:—Whereas the republic has often been well and happily administered by M. Lepidus, the chief priest, and the people of Rome have always found him to be an enemy to kingly government; and whereas, by his endeavours, virtue, wisdom, and his singular clemency and mildness, a most dreadful civil war is extinguished; and S. Pompey the Great, the son of Cnæus, out of respect to the authority of the senate, has quitted his arms, and is restored to the city; that the senate and people, out of regard to the many and signal services of M. Lepidus, emperor, and chief priest, place great hopes of their peace, concord, liberty, in his virtue, authority, felicity; and, from a grateful sense of his merits, decree, that a gilt equestrian statue shall be erected to him, by their order, in the rostra, or any other part of the Forum which he shall choose.† He comes next to young Cæsar, and, after enlarging on his praises, proposes, that they should grant him a proper commission and command over his troops, without which he could be of no use to them, and that he should have the rank and all the rights of a proprætor, not only for the sake of his dignity, but the necessary management of their affairs, and the administration of the war; and then offers the form of a decree:—Whereas C. Cæsar, the son of Caius, priest, proprætor, has, in the utmost distress of the republic, excited and enlisted veteran troops, to defend the liberty of the Roman people; and whereas the martial and fourth legions, under the leading and authority of C. Cæsar, have defended, and now defend the republic, and the liberty of the Roman people; and whereas C. Cæsar is gone, at the head of his army, to protect

* Philip. 14. † Ib. 15.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

the province of Gaul; has drawn together a body of horse, archers, elephants, under his own and the people's power; and, in the most dangerous crisis of the republic, has supported the safety and dignity of the Roman people; for these reasons, the senate decrees, that C. Cæsar, the son of Caius, priest, proprætor, be henceforward a senator, and vote in the rank and place of a prætor; and that, in soliciting for any future magistracy, the same regard be had to him, as would have been had by law, if he had been quæstor the year before.* As to those who thought these honours too great for so young a man, and apprehended danger from his abuse of them, he declares their apprehensions to be the effect of envy rather than fear, since the nature of things was such, that he, who had once got a taste of true glory, and found himself universally dear to the senate and people, could never think any other acquisition equal to it: he wishes that J. Cæsar had taken the same course, when young, of endearing himself to the senate and honest men; but, by neglecting that, he spent the force of his great genius in acquiring a vain popularity, and, having no regard to the senate, and the better sort, opened himself a way to power which the virtue of a free people could not bear: that there was nothing of this kind to be feared from the son, nor, after the proof of such admirable prudence in a boy, any ground to imagine that his riper age would be less prudent: for what greater folly could there be, than to prefer an useless power, an invidious greatness, the lust of reigning, always slippery and tottering, to true, weighty, solid glory? If they suspected him as an enemy to some of their best and most valued citizens, they might lay aside those fears; he had given up all his resentments to the republic: made her the moderatrix of all his acts; that he knew the most inward sentiments of the youth; would pawn his credit for

* Philip. 17.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

him to the senate and people; would promise, engage, undertake, that he would always be the same that he now was: such as they should wish and desire to see him.* He proceeded also to give a public testimonial of praise and thanks to L. Egnatuleius, for his fidelity to the republic, in bringing over the fourth legion from Antony to Cæsar; and moves, that it might be granted to him, for that piece of service, to sue for and hold any magistracy three years before the legal time.† Lastly, as to the veteran troops, which had followed the authority of Cæsar and the senate, and especially the martial and fourth legions, he moved, that an exemption from service should be decreed to them and their children, except in the case of a gallic or domestic tumult; and that the consuls C. Pansa and A. Hirtius, or one of them, should provide lands in Campania, or elsewhere, to be divided to them; and that, as soon as the present war was over, they should all be discharged, and punctually receive whatever sums of money C. Cæsar had promised to them when they first declared for him.—

This was the substance of his speech, in the latter part of which, the proposal of honours, the senate readily agreed with him: and though those, which were decreed to Octavius, seemed so extraordinary to Cicero himself, that he thought it proper to make an apology for them, yet there were others, of the first rank, who thought them not great enough; so that Philippus added the honour of a statue; Ser. Sulpicius and Servilius the privilege of suing for any magistracy, still earlier than Cicero had proposed.‡ But the assembly was much divided about the main question, of sending a deputation to Antony: some of the principal senators were warmly for it; and the consuls themselves favoured it, and artfully

* Philip. 18. † Ib. 19.

‡ Statuam Philippus decrevit, celeritatem petitionis primo Servius, post majorem etiam Servilius: nihil tum nimium videbatur. Ad Brut. 15.

avoided to put it to the vote; which would otherwise have been carried by Cicero, who had a clear majority on his side. The debate being held on till night, was adjourned to the next morning, and kept up with the same warmth for three days successively, while the senate continued all the time in Cicero's opinion, and would have passed a decree conformable to it, had not Salvius, the tribune, put his negative upon them.† This firmness of Antony's friends prevailed, at last, for an embassy; and three consular senators were presently nominated to it, S. Sulpicius, L. Piso, and L. Philippus: but their commission was strictly limited, and drawn up by Cicero himself: giving them no power to treat with Antony, but to carry to him only the peremptory commands of the senate, to quit the siege of Modena, and desist from all hostilities in Gaul; they had instructions, likewise, after the delivery of their message, to speak with D. Brutus in Modena, and signify to him and his army, that the senate and the people had a grateful sense of their services, which would one day be a great honour to them.‡

The unusual length of these debates greatly raised the curiosity of the city, and drew the whole body of the people into the Forum, to expect the issue; where, as they had done also not long before, they could not forbear calling out upon Cicero with one voice, to come and give them an account of the deliberations.‖ He went, therefore, directly from the senate into the rostra, produced by Appuleius, the

* Has in sententias meas si Consules discessionem facere voluissent, omnibus istis bonis auctoritate ipsa Senatus jampridem de manibus arma ceci dissent. Philip. 14. 7.

† Itaque hæc Sententia per triduum sic valuit, ut quamquam discessio facta non est, tamen præter paucos, omnes mihi assensuri viderentur. Philip. 6. 1. App. p. 559.

‡ Quamquam non est illa legatio, sed denunciatio belli, nisi paruerit—mittuntur enim qui nuncient, ne oppugnet Consulem designatum, ne Mutinam obsideat, ne Provinciam depopuletur. Philip. 6. 2.

Dantur mandata legatis, ut D. Brutum, militesque ejus adeant, &c. ib. 3.

‖ Quid ego de universo populo R. dicam? qui pleno ac referto foro bis me una mente atque voce in concionem vocavit. Philip. 7. 8.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

tribune, and acquainted them, in a speech, with the result of their debates,—that the senate, excepting a few, after they had stood firm for three days to his opinion, had given it up at last, with less gravity, indeed, than became them, yet not meanly or shamefully, having decreed not so much an embassy as a denunciation of war to Antony, if he did not obey it; which carried, indeed, an appearance of severity; and he wished only that it had carried no delay: that Antony, he was sure, would never obey it, nor ever submit to their power, who had never been in his own: that he would do therefore, in that place, what he had been doing in the senate; testify, warn, and declare to them, before-hand, that Antony would perform no part of what their ambassadors were sent to require of him—that he would still waste the country, besiege Modena, and not suffer the ambassadors themselves to enter the town, or speak with Brutus: "Believe me," says he, "I know the vio-"lence, the impudence, the audaciousness of the "man: let our ambassadors then make haste, which "I know they are resolved to do: but do you pre-"pare your military habit; for it is a part also of "our decree, that, if he does not comply, we must "all put on that garb: we shall certainly put it on: "he will never obey: we shall lament the loss of so "many days, which might have been employed in "action.* I am not afraid, when he comes to hear "how I have declared this before-hand, that, for "the sake of confuting me, he should change his "mind and submit. He will never do it; will not "envy me this glory; will choose rather, that you "should think me wise, than him modest." He observes, that though it would have been better to send no message, yet some good would flow from it to the republic; for when the ambassadors shall make the report, which they surely will make, of Antony's refusal to obey the people and senate, who can be

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* Philip. 6. 1, 2, 3.

so perverse, as to look upon him any longer as a citizen?—"Wherefore wait," says he, "with pa-"tience, citizens, the return of the ambassadors, and "digest the inconvenience of a few days: if on their "return they bring peace, call me prejudiced; if "war, provident."* Then, after assuring them of his perpetual vigilance for their safety, and applauding their wonderful alacrity in the cause, and declaring, that of all the assemblies which he had seen, he had never known so full a one as the present, he thus concludes: "The season of liberty is now come, my "citizens, much later, indeed, than became the peo-"ple of Rome; but so ripe now, that it cannot be "deferred a moment. What we have hitherto suf-"fered was owing to a kind of fatality, which we "have borne as well as we could: but if any such "case should happen again, it must be owing to our-"selves: it is not possible for the people of Rome "to be slaves, whom the gods have destined to the "command of all nations: the affair is now reduced "to the last extremity; the struggle is for liberty: "it is your part either to conquer, which will surely "be the fruit of your piety and concord, or to suffer "any thing rather than live slaves: other nations "may endure slavery; but the proper end and bu-"siness of the Roman people is liberty."

The ambassadors prepared themselves immediately to execute their commission, and the next morning, early, set forward towards Antony, though Ser. Sulpicius was in a very declining state of health. Various were the speculations about the success of this message: but Antony gained one certain advantage by it, of more time, either to press the siege of Modena, or to take such measures as fresh accidents might offer; nor were his friends without hopes of drawing from it some pretence for opening a treaty with him, so as to give room to the chiefs of the Cæsarian faction to unite themselves against

* Philip. 4. 6.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

the senate and republican party; which seemed to be inspired, by Cicero, with a resolution of extinguishing all the remains of the late tyranny. For this purpose, the partisans of that cause were endeavouring to obviate the offence, which might be given by Antony's refusal to comply with what was enjoined; contriving specious answers for him, and representing them as a reasonable ground of an accommodation, in hopes to cool the ardour of the city for the prosecution of the war: Calenus was at the head of this party, who kept a constant correspondence with Antony, and took care to publish such of his letters as were proper to depress the hopes and courage of his adversaries, and keep up the spirits of his friends.*

Cicero, therefore, at a meeting of the senate, called in this interval about certain matters of ordinary form, took occasion to rouse the zeal of the assembly, by warning them of the mischief of these insinuations. He observed, that the affairs then proposed to their deliberation were of little consequence, though necessary in the common course of public business, about the Appian way, the coin, the Luperci, which would easily be adjusted; but that his mind was called off from the consideration of them by the more important concerns of the republic: that he had always been afraid of sending the embassy: and now every body saw what a languor the expectation of it had caused in people's minds, and what a handle it had given to the practices of those, who grieved to see the senate recovering its ancient authority; the people united with them; all Italy on the same side; their armies prepared; their generals ready to take the field: who feign answers for Antony, and applaud them as if they had sent ambassadors not to give, but receive

* Ille litteras ad te mittat de spe sua secundarum rerum? eas tu lætus proferas?—describendas etiam des improbis civibus?—eorum augeas animos? bonorum spem, virtutemque debilites? Philip. 7. 2.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

conditions from him. Then, after exposing the danger and iniquity of such practices, and rallying the principal abettor of them, Calenus, he adds, that he, who all his life had been the author and promoter of civil peace; who owed whatever he was, whatever he had to it; his honours, interest, dignity, nay, even the talents and abilities which he was master of; "Yet I," says he, "the perpetual adviser "of peace, am for no peace with Antony:"—where, perceiving himself to be heard with attention, he proceeds to explain at large, through the rest of his speech, that such a peace would be dishonourable, dangerous, and could not possibly subsist: he exhorts the senate, therefore, to be attentive, prepared, and armed beforehand; so as not to be caught by a smooth or suppliant answer, and the false appearance of equity: that Antony must do every thing which was prescribed to him, before he could pretend to ask any thing; if not, that it was not the senate which proclaimed war against him, but he against the Roman people. "But for you, fathers, I give you warning," says he; "the question before you concerns the liberty "of the people of Rome, which is entrusted to your "care; it concerns the lives and fortunes of every "honest man; it concerns your own authority; "which you will for ever lose, if you do not retrieve "it now. I admonish you too, Pansa; for though "you want no advice, in which you excel, yet the "best pilots, in great storms, are sometimes admo-"nished by passengers: never suffer that noble "provision of arms and troops, which you have "made, to come to nothing: you have such an "opportunity before you, as no man ever had: by "this firmness of the senate, this alacrity of the "equestrian order, this ardour of the people, you "have it in your power to free the republic for "ever from fear and danger."*

* Vid. Philip. 7.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

The consuls, in the meanwhile, were taking care that the expectation of the effect of the embassy should not supersede their preparations for war; and agreed between themselves, that one of them should march immediately to Gaul, with the troops which were already provided, and the other stay behind to perfect the new levies, which were carried on with great success, both in the city and the country: for all the capital towns of Italy were vying with each other in voluntary contributions of money and soldiers, and in decrees of infamy and disgrace to those who refused to list themselves into the public service.* The first part fell by lot to Hirtius;† who, though but lately recovered from a dangerous indisposition, marched away, without loss of time, at the head of a brave army; and particularly of the two legions, the martial and the fourth, which were esteemed the flower and strength of the whole, and now put themselves under the command and auspices of the consul. With these, in conjunction with Octavius, he hoped to obstruct all the designs of Antony, and prevent his gaining any advantage against Brutus, till Pansa could join them, which would make them superior in force, and enable them to give him battle, with good assurance of victory. He contented himself, in the meanwhile, with dispossessing Antony of some of his posts, and distressing him, by straitening his quarters and opportunities of forage, in which he had some success, as he signified in a letter to his colleague Pansa, which was communicated to the senate: "I have possessed myself," says he, "of "Claterna, and driven out Antony's garrison; his "horse were routed in the action, and some of them "slain."‡. And in all his letters to Cicero, he

* An cum municipiis pax erit, quorum tanta studia cognoscuntur in decretis faciendis, militibus dandis, pecuniis pollicendis—hæc jam tota Italia fiunt. Philip. 7. 8. 9.

† Consul sortitu ad bellum profectus A. Hirtius. Philip. 14. 2.

‡ Dejeci præsidium, Clatema potitus sum, fugati equites, prælium commissum, occisi aliquot. Philip. 8. 2.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

assured him, that he would undertake nothing without the greatest caution; in answer, probably, to what Cicero was constantly inculcating, not to expose himself too forwardly, till Pansa could come up to him.*

The ambassadors returned about the beginning of February, having been retarded somewhat longer than they intended, by the death of Ser. Sulpicius, which, happening when they were just arrived at Antony's camp, left the embassy maimed and imperfect, as Cicero says, by the loss of the best and ablest man of the three.† The report which they made to the senate, answered exactly, in every point, to what Cicero had foretold;—that Antony would perform no part of what was required, nor suffer them even to speak with Brutus, but continued to batter the town with great fury, in their presence: he offered, however, some conditions of his own, which, contrary to their instructions, they were weak enough to receive from him, and lay before the senate: the purport of them was, that the senate should assign lands and rewards to all his troops, and confirm all the other grants which he and Dolabella had made in their consulship: that all his decrees, from Cæsar's books and papers, should stand firm: that no account should be demanded of the money taken from the temple of Opis, nor any inquiry made into the conduct of the seven commissioners, created to divide the lands to the veteran soldiers; and that his judiciary law should not be repealed. On these terms, he offered to give up Cisalpine Gaul, provided that he might have the greater Gaul in exchange for five years, with an army of six legions, to be completed out of the troops of D. Brutus.‡

* Hirtius nihil nisi considerate, ut mihi crebris litteris significat, acturus videbatur. Ep. Fam. 12. 5.

† Cum Ser. Sulpicius ætate illos anteiret, sapientia omnes, subito ereptus e caussa totam legationem orbam et debilitatam reliquit. Philip. 9. 1.

‡ Ante Consulis oculosque legatorum tormentis Mutinam verberavit—ne punctum quidem temporis, cum legati adessent, oppugnatio respiravit—cum illi contempti et

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

Pansa summoned the senate to consider the report of the ambassadors, which raised a general indignation through the city, and gave all possible advantage to Cicero, towards bringing the house into his sentiments: but, contrary to expectation, he found Calenus's party still strong enough to give him much trouble, and even to carry some points against him; all tending to soften the rigour of his motions, and give them a turn more favourable towards Antony. He moved the senate to decree, that a war or rebellion was actually commenced; they carried it for a tumult: he urged them to declare Antony an enemy; they carried it for the softer term of adversary:* he proposed that all persons should be prohibited from going to Antony; they excepted Varius Cotyla, one of his lieutenants, who was then in the senate, taking notes of every thing which passed. In these votes Pansa himself, and all the consular senators, concurred: even L. Cæsar, who, though a true friend to liberty, yet, being Antony's uncle, thought himself obliged, by decency, to vote on the milder side.†

But Cicero, in his turn, easily threw out, what was warmly pressed on the other side, the proposal of a second embassy; and carried, likewise, the main question, of requiring the citizens to change their ordinary gown for the sagum, or habit of war: by which they decreed the thing, while they rejected the name. In all decrees of this kind, the consular senators, on the account of their dignity, were excused from changing their habit; but Cicero, to inculcate more sensibly th distress of the republic, resolved to wave his privilege, and wear the same

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rejecti revertissent, dixissentque Senatui, non modo illum e Gallia non discessisse, uti censuissemus, sed ne a Mutina quidem recessisse, potestatem sibi D. Bruti conveniendi non fuisse, &c. vid. Philip. 8. 7, 8, 9.

* Ego princeps Sagorum: ego semper hostem appellavi, cum alii adversarium; semper hoc bellum, cum alii tumultum, &c. Philip. 12. 7.

† Vid. Philip. 8. 1. 10.

robe with the rest of the city.* In a letter to Cassius, he gives the following short account of the state of things at this time:—"We have excellent "consuls, but most shameful consulars: a brave "senate, but the lower they are in dignity, the "braver: nothing firmer and better than the people, "and all Italy universally: but nothing more detest- "able and infamous than our ambassadors, Philip "and Piso, who, when sent only to carry the orders "of the senate to Antony, none of which he would "comply with, brought back, of their own accord, "intolerable demands from him; wherefore all the "world now flock about me, and I am grown popu- "lar in a salutary cause,"† &c.

The senate met again the next day, to draw into form and perfect what had been resolved upon in the preceding debate: when Cicero, in a pathetic speech, took occasion to expostulate with them for their imprudent lenity the day before: he shewed the absurdity of their scruples, about voting a civil war: that the word tumult, which they had preferred, either carried in it no real difference, or if any, implied a greater perturbation of all things:‡ he proved, from every step that Antony had taken and was taking; from every thing which the senate, the people, the towns of Italy were doing and decreeing against him, that they were truly and properly in a state of civil war; the fifth which had happened in their memory, and the most desperate of them all; being the first which was ever raised, not by a dissension of parties, contending for a superiority in the republic, but against an union of

* Equidem, P. C. quamquam hoc honore usi togati solent esse, cum est in sagis civitas; statui tamen a vobis, cæterisque civibus in tanta atrocitate temporis—non differre vestitu. Philip. 8. 11.

† Egregios Consules habemus, sed turpissimos consulares: Senatum fortem, sed infimo quemque honore fortissimum. Populo vero nihil fortius, nihil melius, Italiaque universa. Nihil autem fœdius Philippo et Pisone legatis, nihil flagitiosius: qui cum essent missi, ut Antonio ex S. C. certas res nunciarent: cum ille earum rerum nulli paruisset, ultro ab illo ad nos intolerabilia postulata retulerunt. Itaque ad nos concurritur: factique jam in re salutari populares sumus. Ep. Fam. 12. 4.

‡ Philip. 8. 1.

all parties, to enslave and oppress the republic.* He proceeds to expostulate with Calenus, for his obstinate adherence to Antony, and exposes the weakness of his pretended plea for it—a love of peace, and concern for the lives of the citizens: he puts him in mind, that there was no juster cause of taking arms, than to repel slavery; that several other causes, indeed, were just, but this necessary; unless he did not take himself to be affected by it, for the hopes of sharing the dominion with Antony: if so, he was doubly mistaken; first, for preferring a private interest to the public; secondly, for thinking any thing secure, or worth enjoying in a tyranny: that a regard for the safety of citizens was a laudable principle; if he meant the good, the useful, the friends to their country: but if he meant to save those, who, though citizens by nature, were enemies by choice; what difference was there between him and such citizens? That their ancestors had quite another notion of the care of citizens; and when Scipio Nasica slew Tiberius Gracchus, when Opimius slew Caius Gracchus, when Marius killed Saturninus, they were all followed by the greatest and the best both of the senate and the people: that the difference between Calenus's opinion and his was not trifling, or about a trifling matter; the wishing well only to this or that man; that he wished well to Brutus, Calenus to Antony; he wished to see a colony of Rome preserved, Calenus to see it stormed: that Calenus could not deny this, who was contriving all sorts of delay, which could distress Brutus, and strengthen Antony.† He then addressed himself to the other consulars, and reproached them for their shameful behaviour the day before, in voting for a second embassy, and said, that when the ambassadors were sent, against his judgment, he comforted himself with imagining, that, as soon as they should re-

* Philip. 3. † Ib. 4—6.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

turn, despised and rejected by Antony, and inform the senate that he would neither retire from Gaul, nor quit the siege of Modena, nor even suffer them to speak with Brutus; that, out of indignation, they should all arm themselves immediately in the defence of Brutus; but, on the contrary, they were grown more dispirited, to hear of Antony's audaciousness; and their ambassadors, instead of courage, which they ought to have brought, had brought back nothing but fear to them.* "Good God," says he, "what is become of the virtue of our "ancestors?—When Popilius was sent ambassador "to Antiochus, and ordered him, in the name of "the senate, to depart from Alexandria, which he "was then besieging, upon the king's deferring to "answer, and contriving delays, he drew a circle "round him with his staff, and bade him give his answer instantly, before he stirred out of that place, or "he would return to the senate without it." He then recites and ridicules the several demands made by Antony; their arrogance, stupidity, absurdity; and * reproves Piso and Philip, men of such dignity, for the meanness of bringing back conditions, when they were sent only to carry commands: he complains, that they paid more respect to Antony's ambassador, Cotyla, than he to their's; for, instead of shutting the gates of the city against him, as they ought to have done, they admitted him into that very temple, where the senate then sat; where, the day before, he was taking notes of what every man said, and was caressed, invited, and entertained by some of the principal senators, who had too little regard to their dignity, too much to their danger. But what, after all, was the danger, which must end either in liberty or death? the one always desirable, the other unavoidable; while to fly from death basely was worse than death itself: that

* Philip. 7. † Ib. 8. 9.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

it used to be the character of consular senators, to be vigilant, attentive, always thinking, doing, or proposing something for the good of the public: that he remembered old Scævola in the Marsic war, how, in the extremity of age, oppressed with years and infirmities, he gave free access to every body; was never seen in his bed; always the first in the senate: he wished that they all would imitate such industry; or, at least, not envy those who did:* that, since they had now suffered a six years' slavery, a longer term than honest and industrious slaves used to serve, what watchings, what solicitude, what pains ought they to refuse, for the sake of giving liberty to the Roman people? He concludes, by adding a clause to their last decree; to grant pardon and impunity to all who should desert Antony, and return to their duty, by the fifteenth of March; or, if any who continued with him, should do any service worthy of reward, that one or both the consuls should take the first opportunity to move the senate in their favour; but if any person, from this time, should go over to Antony, except Cotyla, that the senate would consider him as an enemy to his country.

The public debates being thus adjusted, Pansa called the senate together again the next day, to deliberate on some proper honours to be decreed to the memory of Ser. Sulpicius, who died upon the embassy: he spoke largely in his praise, and advised to pay him all the honours which had ever been decreed to any, who had lost their lives in the service of their country—a public funeral, sepulchre, and statue. Servilius, who spoke next, agreed to a funeral and monument, but was against a statue, as due only to those who had been killed by violence, in the discharge of their embassies. Cicero was not content with this, but, out of private

* Philip. 10.

friendship to the man, as well as a regard to the public service, resolved to have all the honours paid to him, which the occasion could possibly justify: in answer, therefore, to Servilius, he shewed, with his usual eloquence, that the case of Sulpicius was the same with the case of those who had been killed on the account of their embassies: that the embassy itself had killed him: that he set out upon it in so weak a condition, that though he had some hopes of coming to Antony, he had none of returning: and when he was just arrived to the congress, expired in the very act of executing his commission:* that it was not the manner, but the cause of the death, which their ancestors regarded: if it was caused by the embassy, they granted a public monument, to encourage their fellow-citizens, in dangerous wars, to undertake that employment with cheerfulness: that several statues had been erected on that account; which none had ever merited better than Sulpicius: that there could be no doubt but that the embassy had killed him; and that he had carried out death along with him, which he might have escaped by staying at home, under the care of his wife and children:† but when he saw, that if he did not obey the authority of the senate, he should be unlike to himself, and, if he did obey, must necessarily lose his life, he chose, in so critical a state of the republic, rather to die than seem to decline any service which he could possibly do: that he had many opportunities of refreshing and reposing himself in the cities through which he passed, and was pressed to it by his colleagues; but, in spite of his distemper, persevered to death in the resolution of urging his journey, and hastening to perform the commands of the senate: that if they recollected how he endeavoured to excuse himself from the task, when it was first moved

* Philip. 9. 1. † Ib. 3.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

in the senate, they must needs think, that this honour to him, when dead, was but a necessary amends for the injury which they had done to him when living: for, though it was harsh to be said, yet he must say it, that it was they who had killed him, by overruling his excuse, when they saw it grounded, not on a feigned, but a real sickness; and when, to their remonstrance, the consul Pansa joined his exhortation, with a gravity and force of speech which his ears had not learnt to bear; "Then," says he, "he "took his son and me aside, and professed, that he "could not help preferring your authority to his "own life: we, through admiration of his virtue, "durst not venture to oppose his will: his son was "tenderly moved, nor was my concern much less; "yet both of us were obliged to give way to the "greatness of his mind, and the force of his rea-"soning: when, to the joy of you all, he promised "that he would do whatever you prescribed, nor "would decline the danger of that vote, of which "he himself had been the proposer: restore life, "therefore, to him from whom you have taken it: for "the life of the dead is in the memory of the living: "take care that he whom you unwillingly sent to "his death, receive an immortality from you: for "if you decree a statue to him in the rostra, the "remembrance of his embassy will remain to all "posterity—."* Then, after illustrating the great virtues, talents, and excellent character of Sulpicius, he observes, that all these would be perpetuated by their own merit and effects, and that the statue was the monument rather of the gratitude of the senate, than of the fame of the man; of a public rather than of a private signification; an eternal testimony of Antony's audaciousness, of his waging an impious war against his country; of his rejecting the embassy of the senate.† For which reasons he

* Philip. 4. 5. † Ib. 5. 6.

proposed a decree, that a statue of brass should be erected to him in the rostra, by order of the senate, and the cause inscribed on the base, that he died in the service of the republic, with an area of five feet, on all sides of it, for his children and posterity to see the shows of gladiators: that a magnificent funeral should be made for him at the public charge, and the consul Pansa should assign him a place of burial in the Esquiline field, with an area of thirty feet every way, to be granted publicly, as a sepulchre for him, his children, and posterity.—The senate agreed to what Cicero desired, and the statue itself, as we are told by a writer of the third century, remained, to his time, in the rostra of Augustus.*

Sulpicius was of a noble and patrician family, of the same age, the same studies, and the same principles with Cicero, with whom he kept up a perpetual friendship. They went through their exercises together when young, both at Rome and at Rhodes, in the celebrated school of Molo: whence he became an eminent pleader of causes, and passed through all the great offices of the state, with a singular reputation of wisdom, learning, integrity; a constant admirer of the modesty of the ancients; and a reprover of the insolence of his own times. When he could not arrive at the first degree of fame as an orator, he resolved to excel in what was next to it, the character of a lawyer; choosing rather to be the first in the second art, than the second only in the first; leaving, therefore, to his friend Cicero the field of eloquence, he contented himself with such a share of it, as was sufficient to sustain and adorn the profession of the law. In this he succeeded to his wish, and was far superior to all who had ever possessed it in Rome; being the first who reduced it to a proper science, or rational system;

* Pomponius de origine juris.

and added light and method to that, which all others before him had taught darkly and confusedly. Nor was his knowledge confined to the external forms or the effects of the municipal laws; but enlarged by a comprehensive view of universal equity, which he made the interpreter of its sanctions, and the rule of all his decisions; yet he was always better pleased to put an amicable end to a controversy, than to direct a process at law. In his political behaviour, he was always a friend to peace and liberty; moderating the violence of opposite parties, and discouraging every step towards civil dissension; and, in the late war, was so busy in contriving projects of an accommodation, that he gained the name of the peace-maker. Through a natural timidity of temper, confirmed by a profession and course of life averse from arms, though he preferred Pompey's cause as the best, he did not care to fight for it: but taking Cæsar to be the strongest, suffered his son to follow that camp, while he himself continued quiet and neuter: for this he was honoured by Cæsar, yet could never be induced to approve his government. From the time of Cæsar's death, he continued still to advise and promote all measures which seemed likely to establish the public concord; and died, at last, as he had lived, in the very act and office of peace-making.*

* Non facile quem dixerim plus Studii quam illum et ad dicendum, et ad omnes bonarum rerum disciplinas adhibuisse: nam et in iisdem exercitationibus ineunte ætate fuimus; et postea Rhodum una ille etiam profectus est, quo melior esset et doctior: et inde ut rediit, videtur mihi in secunda arte primus esse maluisse, quam in prima secundus—sed fortasse maluit, id quod est adeptus, longe omnium non ejusdem modo ætatis, sed eorum etiam qui fuissent, in jure civili esse princeps—juris civilis magnum usum et apud Scævolam et apud multos fuisse, artem in hoc uno—hic enim attulit hanc artem—quasi lucem ad ea, quæ confuse ab aliis aut respondebantur aut agebantur—[Brut. 262, &c.] neque ille magis Juris consultus, quam justitiæ fuit: ita ea quæ proficiscebantur a legibus et a jure civili semper ad facilitatem æquitatemque referebat: neque constituere litium actiones malebat, quam controversias tollere. [Philip. 9. 5.] Servius vero pacificator cum suo librariolo videtur obiisse legationem. [Ad Att. 15. 7.] Cognoram enim jam absens, te hæc mala multo ante providentem, defensorem pacis et in Consulatu tuo et post Consulatum fuisse. [Ep. Fam. 4. 1.]

N. B. The old lawyers tell a remarkable story of the origin of Sulpicius's fame and skill in the law: that going one day to consult Mucius Scævola about some

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

The senate had heard nothing of Brutus and Cassius, from the time of their leaving Italy, till Brutus now sent public letters to the consuls, giving a particular account of his success against Antony's brother, Caius, in securing Macedonia, Illyricum, and Greece, with all the several armies in those countries, to the interests of the republic: that C. Antony was retired to Apollonia, with seven cohorts, where a good account would soon be given of him: that a legion, under L. Piso, had surrendered itself to young Cicero, the commander of his horse: that Dolabella's horse, which was marching in two separate bodies towards Syria, the one in Thessaly, the other in Macedonia, had deserted their leaders, and joined themselves to him: that Vatinius had opened the gates of Dyrrhachium to him, and given up the town with his troops into his hands; that in all these transactions, Q. Hortensius, the proconsul of Macedonia, had been particularly serviceable in disposing the provinces and their armies to declare for the cause of liberty.*

Pansa no sooner received the letters, than he summoned the senate, to acquaint them with the contents, which raised an incredible joy through the whole city.† After the letters were read, Pansa spoke largely in the praises of Brutus; extolled his conduct and services; and moved, that public ho-

point, he was so dull in apprehending the meaning of Mucius's answer, that, after explaining it to him twice or thrice, Mucius could not forbear saying, "It is a "shame for a nobleman, and a patrician, and a pleader of causes, to be ignorant "of that law which he professes to understand." The reproach stung him to the quick, and made him apply himself to his studies with such industry, that he became the ablest lawyer in Rome; and left behind him near a hundred and eighty books written by himself, on nice and difficult questions of law. Digest. l. 1. Tit. 2. parag. 43.

The Jesuits, Catrou and Rouille, have put this Sulpicius into the list of the conspirators who killed Cæsar: but a moderate acquaintance with the character of the man, or with Cicero's writings, would have shewn them their error, and that there was none of consular rank but Trebonius concerned in that affair. Hist. Rom. vol. 17. p. 343, Not. a.

* Vid. Philip. x. 4, 5, 6.

† Dii immortales! qui ille nuncius, quæ illæ litteræ, quæ lætitia Senatus, quæ alacritas civitatis erat? Ad Brut. 1. 2. 7.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

nours and thanks should be decreed to him: and then, according to his custom, called upon his father-in-law, Calenus, to declare his sentiments the first; who, in a premeditated speech, delivered from writing, acknowledged Brutus's letters to be well and properly drawn; but since what he had done, was done without any commission and public authority, that he should be required to deliver up his forces to the orders of the senate, or the proper governors of the provinces.* Cicero spoke next, and began with giving the thanks of the house to Pansa, for calling them together on that day, when they had no expectation of it; and not deferring a moment to give them a share of the joy which Brutus's letters had brought. He observes, that Pansa, by speaking so largely in the praise of Brutus, had shewn that to be true, which he had always taken to be so, that no man ever envied another's virtue, who was conscious of his own: that he had prevented him, to whom, for his intimacy with Brutus, that task seemed particularly to belong, from saying so much as he intended on that subject. Then addressing himself to Calenus, he asks, what could be the meaning of that perpetual war which he declared against the Brutuses? why he alone was always opposing, when every one else was almost adoring them? that to talk of Brutus's letters being rightly drawn, was not to praise Brutus, but his secretary: when did he ever hear of a decree in that style, that letters were properly written? yet the expression did not fall from him by chance, but was designed, premeditated, and brought in writing.† He exhorts him to consult with his son-in-law, Pansa, oftener than with himself, if he would preserve his character: professes that he could not help pitying him, to hear it given out among the people that there was not a second vote on the side of him, who gave

* Philip. x. 1, 2, 3. † Ib. 2.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

the first; which would be the case, he believed, in that day's debate. "You would take away," says he, "the legions from Brutus, even those which he "has drawn off from the traitorous designs of C. "Antony, and engaged by his own authority in the "public service: you would have him sent once "more, as it were, into banishment, naked and for-"lorn: but for you, fathers, if ever you betray or de-"sert Brutus, what citizen will you honour? whom "will you favour? unless you think those, who offer "kingly diadems, worthy to be preserved; those "who abolish the name of king, to be abandoned." He proceeds to display, with great force, the merit and praises of Brutus; his moderation, mildness, patience of injuries: how studiously he had avoided every step which could give a handle to civil tumults: quitting the city; living retired in the country; forbidding the resort of friends to him; and leaving Italy itself, lest any cause of war should arise on his account: that as long as he saw the senate disposed to bear every thing, he was resolved to bear too; but when he perceived them inspired with a spirit of liberty, he then exerted himself to provide them succours to defend it:* that if he had not defeated the desperate attempts of C. Antony, they had lost Macedonia, Illyricum, and Greece; the last of which afforded either a commodious retreat to Antony, when driven out of Italy, or the best opportunity of invading it: which now, by Brutus's management, being strongly provided with troops, stretched out its arms, as it were, and offered its help to Italy.‡ That Caius's march through the provinces was to plunder the allies; to scatter waste and desolation wherever he passed; to employ the armies of the Roman people against the people themselves: whereas Brutus made it a law, wheresoever he came, to dispense light, hope,

* Philip. 3. 4. † Ib. 5.

and security to all around him: in short, that the one gathered forces to preserve, the other to overturn the republic: that the soldiers themselves could judge of this, as well as the senate; as they had declared, by their desertion of C. Antony, who, by that time, either was, or would soon be, Brutus's prisoner:* that there was no apprehension of danger from Brutus's power; that his legions, his mercenaries, his horse, and, above all, himself, was wholly theirs; formed for the service of the republic, as well by his own excellent virtue, as a kind of fatality derived from his ancestors, both on the father's and the mother's side: that none could ever blame him for any thing, unless for too great a backwardness and aversion to war; and his not humouring the ardour of all Italy in their thirst of liberty: that it was a vain fear which some pretended to entertain, that the veterans would be disgusted to see Brutus at the head of an army, as if there were any difference between his army, and the armies of Hirtius, Pansa, D. Brutus, Octavius; all of which had severally received public honours for their defence of the people of Rome: that M. Brutus could not be more suspected by the veterans than Decimus: for though the act of the Brutuses, and the praise of it, was common to them both; yet those who disapproved it, were more angry with Decimus, as thinking him, of all others, the last who ought to have done it: yet what were all their armies now doing, but relieving Decimus from the siege?†—that if there was any real danger from Brutus, Pansa's sagacity would easily find it out; but as they had just now heard, from his own mouth, he was so far from thinking his army to be dangerous, that he looked upon it as the firmest support of the commonwealth:‡ that it was the constant art of the disaffected to oppose the name of the veterans to every good design: that he was always ready to encourage their valour, but would never endure their arrogance. "Shall we," says

* Philip. 6. † Ib. 7. ‡ Ib. 8.

he, "who are now breaking off the shackles of our "servitude, be discouraged, if any one tells us that "the veterans will not have it so?—let that then "come out from me at last, which is true, and be- "coming my character to speak; that if the resolu- "tions of this body must be governed by the will of "the veterans; if all our words and acts must be "regulated by their humour, then it is high time "to wish for death; which, to Roman citizens, was "ever preferable to slavery:"* that since so many chances of death surrounded them all, both day and night, it was not the part of a man, much less of a Roman, to scruple the giving up that breath to his country, which he must necessarily give up to nature:† that Antony was the single and common enemy of them all; though he had, indeed, his brother Lucius with him, who seemed to be born on purpose that Marcus might not be the most infamous of all mortals; that he had a crew also of desperate villains gaping after the spoils of the republic: that the army of Brutus was provided against these; whose sole will, thought, and purpose, was to protect the senate and the liberty of the people; who, after trying in vain what patience would do, found it necessary, at last, to oppose force to force;‡ that they ought, therefore, to grant the same privilege to M. Brutus, which they had granted before to Decimus, and to Octavius; and confirm, by public authority, what he had been doing for them by his private counsel.—For which purpose he proposed the following decree:—Whereas by the pains, counsel, industry, virtue of Q. Cæpio Brutus,‖ proconsul, in the utmost distress of the republic, the province of Macedonia, Illyricum, and Greece, with all their legions, armies, horse, are now in the

* Philip. 9. † Ib. 10. ‡ Ib 11.

‖ M. Brutus, as appears from the style of this decree, had been adopted lately by his mother's brother, Q. Servilius Cæpio, whose name, according to custom, he now assumed, with the possession of his uncle's estate.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

power of the consuls, senate, and people of Rome; that Q. Cæpio Brutus, proconsul, has acted herein well, and for the good of the republic, agreeably to his character, the dignity of his ancestors, and to his usual manner of serving the commonwealth, and that his conduct is, and ever will be, acceptable to the senate and people of Rome. That Q. Cæpio Brutus, proconsul, be ordered to protect, guard, and defend the province of Macedonia, Illyricum, and all Greece, and command that army which he himself has raised; that whatever money he wants for military service he may use and take it from any part of the public revenue, where it can best be raised, or borrow it where he thinks proper, and impose contributions of grain and forage, and take care to draw all his troops as near to Italy as possible: and whereas it appears, by the letters of Q. Cæpio Brutus, proconsul, that the public service has been greatly advanced, by the endeavours and virtue of Q. Hortensius, proconsul; and that he concerted all his measures with Q. Cæpio Brutus, proconsul, to the great benefit of the commonwealth; that Q. Hortensius, proconsul, has acted therein rightly, regularly, and for the public good; and that it is the will of the senate, that Q. Hortensius, proconsul, with his quæstors, proquæstors, and lieutenants, hold the province of Macedonia, till a successor be appointed by the senate.

Cicero sent this speech to Brutus, with that also which he made on the first of January: of which Brutus says, in answer to him, "I have read your "two orations, the one, on the first of January, the "other on the subject of my letters, against Calenus: "you expect now, without doubt, that I should "praise them: I am at a loss what to praise the "most in them; your courage, or your abilities: I "allow you now in earnest to call them Philippics, "as you intimated, jocosely, in a former letter."*—

* Legi orationes tuas duas, quarum altera Kal. Jan. usus es; altera de litteris meis.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Cos.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

Thus the name of Philippics, which seems to have been thrown out at first in gaiety and jest only, being taken up and propagated by his friends, became, at last, the fixed and standing title of these orations: which yet, for several ages, were called, we find, indifferently, either Philippics or Antonians.* Brutus declared himself so well pleased with these two, which he had seen, that Cicero promised to send him, afterwards, all the rest.†

Brutus, when he first left Italy, sailed directly for Athens, where he spent some time in concerting measures, how to make himself master of Greece and Macedonia, which was the great design that he had in view. Here he gathered about him all the young nobility and gentry of Rome, who, for the opportunity of their education, had been sent to this celebrated seat of learning: but, of them all, he took the most notice of young Cicero; and, after a little acquaintance, grew very fond of him; admiring his parts and virtue, and surprised to find, in one so young, such a generosity and greatness of mind, with such an aversion to tyranny.‡ He made him, therefore, one of his lieutenants, though he was but twenty years old; gave him the command of his horse; and employed him in several commissions of great trust and importance; in all which the young man signalized both his courage and conduct, and behaved with great credit to himself, great satisfaction to his general, and great benefit to the public service: as Brutus did him the justice to signify, both in his private and public letters to Rome. In

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quæ habita est abs te contra Calenum. Nunc scilicet hoc expectas, dum eas laudem. Nescio animi an ingenii tui major in illis libellis laus contineatur. Jam concedo, ut vel Philippicæ vocentur, quod tu quadam epistola jocans scripsisti. Ad Brut. 1. 2. 5.

* M. Cicero in primo Antonianarum ita scriptum reliquit. A. Gell. 13. 1.

† Hæc ad te oratio perferetur, quoniam te video delectari Philippicis nostris. Ad Brut. 2. 4.

‡ Vid. Plut. in Brut.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

writing to Cicero, "Your son," says he, "recommends himself to me so effectually, by his industry, patience, activity, greatness of mind, and, in short, by every duty, that he seems never to drop the remembrance of whose son he is; wherefore, since it is not possible for me to make you love him more than you do already, yet allow thus much to my judgment, as to persuade yourself, that he will have no occasion to borrow any share of your glory, in order to obtain his father's honours."*—This account, given by one who was no flatterer, may be considered as the real character of the youth: which is confirmed, likewise, by what Lentulus wrote of him about the same time: "I could not see your son," says he, "when I was last with Brutus, because he was gone with the horse into winter quarters: but, by my faith, it gives me great joy, for your sake, for his, and especially my own, that he is in such esteem and reputation: for as he is your son, and worthy of you, I cannot but look upon him as my brother."†

Cicero was so full of the greater affairs, which were the subject of his letters to Brutus, that he had scarce leisure to take notice of what was said about his son: he just touches it, however, in one or two letters: "As to my son, if his merit be as great as you write, I rejoice at it as much as I ought to do: or if you magnify it, out of love to him, even that gives me an incredible joy, to perceive that he is beloved by you."‡ Again; "I desire you,

* Cicero filius tuus sic mihi se probat, industria, patientia, labore, animi magnitudine, omni denique officio, ut prorsus nunquam dimittere videtur cogitationem, cujus sit filius. Quare quoniam efficere non possum, ut pluris facias eum, qui tibi est carissimus, illud tribue judicio meo, ut tibi persuadeas, non fore illi abutendum gloria tua, ut adipiscatur honores paternos. Kal. Apr. ad Brut. 1. 2, 3.

† Filium tuum, ad Brutum cum veni, videre non potui, ideo quod jam in hiberna, cum equitibus erat profectus. Sed medius fidius ea esse cum opinione, et tua et ipsius, et in primis mea causa gaudeo. Fratris enim loco mihi est, qui ex te natus, teque dignus est. Vale. 1111 Kal. Jun. Ep. Fam. 12. 14.

‡ De Cicerone meo, et si tantum est in eo, quantum scribis, tantum scilicet quantum debeo gaudeo: et si, quod amas eum, eo majora facis; id ipsum incredibiliter gaudeo, a te eum deligi. Ad Brut. 2. 6.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

"my dear Brutus, to keep my son with you as "much as possible: he will find no better school of "virtue, than in the contemplation and imitation of "you."*

Though Brutus intimated nothing in his public letters but what was prosperous and encouraging, yet, in his private accounts to Cicero, he signified a great want of money and recruits, and begged to be supplied with both from Italy, especially with recruits: either by a vote of the senate, or, if that could not be had, by some secret management, without the privity of Pansa: to which Cicero answered, "You tell me that you want two necessary things, "recruits and money; it is difficult to help you. "I know no other way of raising money, which can "be of use to you, but what the senate has decreed, "of borrowing it from the cities. As to recruits, I "do not see what can be done: for Pansa is so far "from granting any share of his army or recruits to "you, that he is even uneasy to see so many volun- "teers going over to you: his reason, I take it, is, "that he thinks no forces too great for the demands "of our affairs in Italy: for as to what many sus- "pect, that he has no mind to see you too strong, "I have no suspicion of it."†—Pansa seems to have been much in the right, for refusing to part with any troops out of Italy, where the stress of the war now lay, on the success of which the fate of the whole republic depended.

But there came news of a different kind, about the same time, to Rome, of Dolabella's successful

* Ciceronem meum, mi Brute, velim quam plurimum tecum habeas. Virtutis disciplinam meliorem reperiet nullam, quam contemplationem atque imitationem tui. XIII Kal. Maii. ib. 7.

† Quod egere te duabus necessariis rebus scribis, supplemento et pecunia, difficile consilium est. Non enim mihi occurrunt facultates, quibus uti te posse videam, præter illas, quas Senatus decrevit, ut pecunias a civitatibus mutuas sumeres. De supplemento autem non video, quid fieri possit. Tantum enim abest ut Pansa de exercitu suo aut delectu tibi aliquid tribuat, ut etiam moleste ferat, tam multos ad te ire voluntarios; quomodo equidem credo, quod his rebus quæ in Italia decernuntur, nullas copias nimis magnas arbitretur: quomodo autem multi suspicantur, quod ne te quidem nimis firmum esse velit; quod ego non suspicor. Ib. 6.

exploits in Asia. He left the city, as it is said above, before the expiration of his consulship, to possess himself of Syria: which had been allotted to him by Antony's management: and taking his way through Greece and Macedonia, to gather what money and troops he could raise in those countries, he passed over into Asia, in hopes of inducing that province to abandon Trebonius, and declare for him: having sent his emissaries, therefore, before him, to prepare for his reception, he arrived before Smyrna, where Trebonius resided, without any shew of hostility, or forces sufficient to give any great alarm, pretending to desire nothing more than a free passage through the country to his own province. Trebonius refused to admit him into the town; but consented to supply him with refreshments without the gates: where many civilities passed between them, with great professions, on Dolabella's part, of amity and friendship to Trebonius, who promised, in his turn, that if Dolabella would depart quietly from Smyrna, he should be received into Ephesus, in order to pass forward towards Syria. To this Dolabella seemingly agreed; and, finding it impracticable to take Smyrna by open force, contrived to surprise it by stratagem: embracing, therefore, Trebonius's offer, he set forward towards Ephesus; but, after he had marched several miles, and Trebonius's men, who were sent after to observe him, were retired, he turned back instantly in the night, and arriving again at Smyrna before day, found it, as he expected, negligently guarded, and without any apprehension of an assault; so that his soldiers, by the help of ladders, presently mounting the walls, possessed themselves of it without opposition, and seized Trebonius himself in his bed, before he knew any thing of his danger.*

* App. 3. p. 512.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

Dolabella treated him with the utmost cruelty; kept him two days under torture, to extort a discovery of all the money in his custody; then ordered his head to be cut off, and carried about on a spear; and his body to be dragged about the streets, and thrown into the sea.* This was the first blood that was spilt on the account of Cæsar's death; which was now revenged in kind upon one of the principal conspirators, and the only one who was of consular rank. It had been projected, without doubt, in concert with Antony, to make the revenge of Cæsar's death the avowed cause of their arms, in order to draw the veterans to their side, or make them unwilling, at least, to act against them: and it gave a clear warning to Brutus and his associates, what they were to expect, if their enemies prevailed, as well as a sad presage to all honest men, of the cruel effects and merciless fury of the impending war.

On the news of Trebonius's death, the senate was summoned by the consul, where Dolabella was unanimously declared a public enemy, and his estate confiscated. Calenus himself first proposed the vote, and said, that if any thing more severe could be thought of, he would be for it: the indignation of the city was so inflamed, that he was forced to comply with the popular humour, and hoped, perhaps, to put some difficulty upon Cicero, who, for his relation to Dolabella, would, as he imagined, be for moderating the punishment. But though Calenus was mistaken in this, he was concerned in moving another question which greatly perplexed Cicero, about the choice of a general, to manage this new war against Dolabella. Two opi

* Consecutus est Dolabella, nulla suspicione belli.—Secutæ collocutiones familiares cum Trebonio; complexusque summæ benevolentiæ—nocturnus introitus in Smyrnam, quasi in hostium urbem: oppressus Trebonius—interficere captum statim noluit, ne nimis, credo, in victoria liberalis videretur. Cum verborum contumeliis optimum, virum incesto ore lacerasset, tunc verberibus ac tormentis quæstionem habuit pecuniæ publicæ, idque per biduum. Post cervicibus fractis caput abscidit, idque adfixum gestari jussit in pilo; reliquum corpus tractum ac laniatum abjecit in mare, &c. Philip. xi. 2. 3.

nions were proposed: the one, that P. Servilius should be sent with an extraordinary commission; the other, that the two consuls should jointly prosecute that war, with the provinces of Syria and Asia allotted to them. This was very agreeable to Pansa, and pushed; therefore, not only by his friends, but by all Antony's party, who fancied that it would take off the attention of the consuls from the war of Italy; give Dolabella time to strengthen himself in Asia; raise a coldness between the consuls and Cicero, if he ventured to oppose it; and, above all, put a public affront upon Cassius; who, by his presence in those parts, seemed to have the best pretension to that commission. The debate continued through the first day, without coming to any issue; and was adjourned to the next. In the meanwhile, Cassius's mother-in-law, Servilia, and other friends, were endeavouring to prevail with Cicero to drop the opposition, for fear of alienating Pansa: but in vain; for he resolved, at all hazards, to defend the honour of Cassius; and when the debate was resumed the next morning, exerted all his interest and eloquence to procure a decree in his favour.

He began his speech by observing that, in their present grief for the lamentable fate of Trebonius, the republic, however, would reap some good from it, since they now saw the barbarous cruelty of those who had taken arms against their country: for of the two chiefs of the present war, the one, by effecting what he wished, had discovered what the other aimed at.* That they both meant nothing less than the death and destruction of all honest men; nor would be satisfied, it seemed, with simple death, for that was the punishment of nature, but thought the rack and tortures due to their revenge: that what Dolabella had executed, was the

* Philip. xi. 1.

picture of what Antony intended: that they were a true pair, exactly matched, marching by concert and equal paces in the execution of their wicked purposes: this he illustrates, by parallel instances from the conduct of each; and after displaying the inhumanity of Dolabella, and the unhappy fate of Trebonius, in a manner proper to excite indignation against the one, and compassion for the other; he shews, that Dolabella was still the more unhappy of the two, and must needs suffer more from the guilt of his mind, than Trebonius from the tortures of his body: "What doubt," says he, "can there "be, which of them is the most miserable? he, "whose death the senate and people are eager to "revenge; or he, who is adjudged to be a traitor, "by the unanimous vote of the senate? for, in all "other respects, it is the greatest injury to Trebo-"nius, to compare his life with Dolabella's. As to "the one, every body knows his wisdom, wit, hu-"manity, innocence, greatness of mind in freeing his "country; but as to the other, cruelty was his de-"light from a boy, with a lewdness so shameless "and abandoned, that he used to value himself for "doing, what his very adversaries could not object "to him with modesty. Yet, this man, good gods! "was once mine: for I was not very curious to in-"quire into his vices: nor should I now, perhaps, "have been his enemy, had he not shewn himself "an enemy to you, to his country, to the domestic "gods and altars of us all; nay, even to nature and "humanity itself."* He exhorts them, from this warning given by Dolabella, to act with the greater vigour against Antony: for if he, who had about him but a few of those capital incendiaries, the ring-leaders of rapine and rebellion, durst attempt an act so abominable, what barbarity were they not to expect from Antony, who had the whole crew of them

* Philip. 4.

in his camp? the principal of whom he describes by name and character; and adds, that as he had often dissented unwillingly from Calenus, so now, at last, he had the pleasure to agree with him, and to let them see, that he had no dislike to the man, but to the cause: that, in this case, he not only concurred with him, but thanked him for propounding a vote so severe, and worthy of the republic, in decreeing Dolabella an enemy, and his estate to be confiscated.* Then, as to the second point, which was of greater delicacy, the nomination of a general to be sent against Dolabella, he proceeds to give his reasons for rejecting the two opinions proposed; the one, for sending Servilius, the other, for the two consuls: of the first, he says, that extraordinary commissions were always odious where they were not necessary, and wherever they had been granted, it was in cases very different from this: that if the commission in debate should be decreed to Servilius, it would seem an affront to all the rest of the same rank, that being equal in dignity, they should be thought unworthy of the same honour: that he himself, indeed, had voted an extraordinary commission to young Cæsar; but Cæsar had first given an extraordinary protection and deliverance to them: that they must either have taken his army from him, or decreed the command of it to him; which could not, therefore, be so properly said to be given, as not taken away: but that no such commission had ever been granted to any one, who was wholly idle and unemployed.†—As to the second opinion, of decreeing that province to the consuls, he shews it to be both against the dignity of the consuls themselves, and against the public service: that when D. Brutus, a consul elect, was actually besieged, on the preservation of whom their common safety depended; and when a dreadful war

* Philip. 5. 6. † Ib. 7. 8.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

was on foot, already entrusted to the two consuls, the very mention of Asia and Syria would give a handle to jealousy and envy; and, though the decree was not to take place till D. Brutus should first be relieved, yet a new commission would necessarily take off some part of their thoughts and attention from the old. Then, addressing himself to Pansa, he says, that though his mind, he knew, was intent on delivering D. Brutus, yet the nature of things would force him to turn it sometimes towards Dolabella; and that, if he had more minds than one, they should all be directed and wholly fixed on Modena:* that, for his own part, he had resigned, in his consulship, a rich and well furnished province, that nothing might interrupt his endeavours to quench that flame which was then raised in his country: he wished that Pansa would imitate him, whom he used to commend: that, if the consuls, however, desired to have provinces, as other great men had usually done, let them first bring D. Brutus safe home to them; who ought to be guarded with the same care as the image that fell from heaven, and was kept in the temple of Vesta, in the safety of which they were all safe: that this decree would create great delay and obstruction to the war against Dolabella; which required a general prepared, equipped, and already invested with command; one who had authority, reputation, an army, and a resolution tried in the service of his country:† that it must, therefore, either be Brutus or Cassius, or both of them: that Brutus could not be spared from Macedonia, where he was quelling the last efforts of the faction, and oppressing C. Antony, who, with the remains of a broken army, was still in possession of some considerable places: that when he had finished that work, if he found it of use to the commonwealth to pursue Dolabella, he would do it

* Philip. 9. † Ib. 10.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

of himself as he had hitherto done, without waiting for their orders; for both he and Cassius had, on many occasions, been a senate to themselves: that in such a season of general confusion, it was necessary to be governed by the times, rather than by rules: that Brutus and Cassius ever held the safety and liberty of their country to be the most sacred rule of acting.* "For by what law," says he, "by "what right have they hitherto been acting, the one "in Greece, the other in Syria, but by that which "Jupiter himself ordained, that all things beneficial "to the community should be esteemed lawful and "just? for law is nothing else but right reason, de-"rived to us from the gods, enjoining what is ho-"nest, prohibiting the contrary: this was the law "which Cassius obeyed when he went into Syria; "another man's province, if we judge by written "law; but when these are overturned, his own, by "the law of nature: but that Cassius's acts might "be confirmed also by the authority of the senate, "he proposed a decree to this effect: that whereas "the senate had declared P. Dolabella to be an "enemy of the Roman people, and ordered him to "be pursued by open war; to the intent that he "may suffer the punishment due to him, both from "gods and men; it is the will of the senate, that C. "Cassius, proconsul, shall hold the province of Sy-"ria, in the same manner as if he had obtained it by "right of law; and that he receive the several ar-"mies from Q. Marcius Crispus, proconsul; L. Sta-"tius Murcus, proconsul; A. Allienus, lieutenant; "which they are hereby required to deliver to him: "that with these, and what other forces he can pro-"cure, he shall pursue Dolabella both by land and "sea: that, for the occasions of the war, he shall "have a power to demand ships, seamen, money, "and all things useful to him, from whomsoever he

* Philip. 14.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

"thinks fit, in Syria, Asia, Bithynia, Pontus: and "that, whatever province he comes into in prose- "cuting the war, he shall have an authority supe- "rior to that of the proper governor; that if king "Deiotarus, the father, or the son, shall assist C. "Cassius, proconsul, with their troops, as they have "oft assisted the Roman people in other wars, their "conduct will be acceptable to the senate and peo- "ple; that if any of the other kings, tetrarchs, and "potentates, shall do the like, the senate and people "will not be unmindful of their services:" that, as soon as the public affairs were settled, C. Pansa, and A. Hirtius, the consuls, one or both of them, should take the first opportunity of moving the senate about the disposal of the consular and prætorian provinces; and that in the meanwhile, they should all continue in the hands of those who now held them, till successors were appointed by the senate.*

From the senate, Cicero went directly into the Forum, to give the people an account of the debate, and recommend to them the interests of Cassius: hither Pansa followed him, and to weaken the influence of his authority, declared to the citizens, that what Cicero contended for, was against the will and advice of Cassius's nearest friends and relations: of which Cicero gives the following account in a letter to Cassius:—

"M. T. CICERO TO C. CASSIUS.

"WITH what zeal I defended your dignity, both "in the senate and with the people, I would have "you learn rather from your other friends than "from me. My opinion would easily have pre- "vailed in the senate, had not Pansa eagerly op- "posed it. After I had proposed that vote, I was "produced to the people by Servilius, the tribune,

* Philip. 12, &c.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

"and said every thing which I could of you, with "a strength of voice that filled the Forum, and "with such a clamour and approbation of the peo- "ple, that I had never seen the like before. You "will pardon me, I hope, for doing it against the "will of your mother-in-law. The timorous wo- "man was afraid that Pansa would be disgusted. "Pansa, indeed, declared to the assembly, that both "your mother and brother were against it; but that "did not move me, I had other considerations more "at heart: my regard was to the republic, to which "I have always wished well, and to your dignity "and glory. But there is one thing which I en- "larged upon in the senate, and mentioned also to "the people, in which I must desire you to make "my words good: for I promised, and in a manner "assured them, that you neither had, nor would "wait for our decrees; but would defend the re- "public yourself in your own way: and though we "had heard nothing, either where you were, or what "forces you had; yet I took it for granted, that all "the forces in those parts were your's; and was "confident, that you had already recovered the pro- "vince of Asia to the republic: let it be your care "to outdo yourself, in endeavouring still to advance "your own glory. Adieu."*

As to the issue of the contest, some writers tell us that it ended as Cicero desired: but it is evident, from the letter just recited, and more clearly still from other letters, that Pansa's authority prevailed against him, for granting the commission to the consuls.† Cassius, however, as Cicero advised and declared, had little regard to what they were decreeing at Rome; but undertook the whole affair himself, and soon put an end to Dolabella's tri-

* Ep. Fam. 12. 7.

† Quum Consulibus decreta est Asia, et permissum est iis, ut dum ipsi venirent; darent negotium qui ipsam obtinerent, &c. Ep. Fam. 12. 14.

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umphs, as will be mentioned hereafter in its proper place.

The statue of Minerva, which Cicero, upon his going into exile, had dedicated in the capitol, by the title of the Guardian of the City, was, about the end of the last year, thrown down and shattered to pieces by a tempest of thunder and lightning. This the later writers take notice of, as ominous, and portending the fall of Cicero himself: though neither Cicero, nor any of that time, made any such reflection upon it. The senate, however, out of respect to him, passed a decree, in a full house, on the eighteenth of March, that the statue should be repaired and restored to its place.* So that it was now made by public authority, what he himself had designed to be, a standing monument to posterity, that the safety of the republic had been the constant object of his counsels.

D. Brutus was reduced by this time to such straits in Modena, that his friends began to be greatly alarmed for him; taking it for granted, that if he fell into Antony's hands, he would be treated no better than Trebonius. The mention, therefore, of a pacification being revived in the senate, and recommended by Pansa himself, upon an intimation given by Antony's friends, that he was now in a disposition to submit to reason, Cicero, out of a concern for Brutus's safety, consented to the decree of a second embassy, to be executed by himself and Servilius, together with three other consular senators: but finding, upon recollection, that there appeared no symptoms of any change in Antony, and that his friends produced no proofs of it, nor any thing new in his conduct, he was convinced that he had made a false step, and that nothing more was intended than to gain time; which was of great use

* Eo die Senatus decrevit, ut Minerva nostra, Custos Urbis quam turbo dejecerat, restitueretur. Ep. Fam. 12. 25. Dio, l. 45. p. 273.

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to Antony, as it would retard the attempts of relieving Modena, and give an opportunity to Ventidius to join him, who was marching towards him at that time, with three legions. At the next meeting, therefore, of the senate, he retracted his opinion, and declared against the late decree, as dangerous and insidious; and, in a warm and pathetic speech, pressed them to rescind it. He owns that it was indecent for one, whose authority they had so often followed in the most important debates, to declare himself mistaken and deceived; yet his comfort was, that it was in common with them all, and with a consul of the greatest wisdom: that when Piso and Calenus, who knew Antony's secret, the one of whom entertained his wife and children at his house, the other was perpetually sending and receiving letters from him, began to renew, what they had long intermitted, their exhortations to peace; and when the consul thought fit to exhort the same thing, a man whose prudence could not easily be imposed upon, whose virtue approved no peace, but on Antony's submission, whose greatness of mind preferred death to slavery, it was natural to imagine, that there was some special reason for all this, some secret wound in Antony's affairs, which the public was unacquainted with; especially when it was reported, that Antony's family were under some unusual affliction, and his friends in the senate betrayed a dejection in their looks: for if there was nothing in it, why should Piso and Calenus, above all others why at that time, why so unexpectedly, so suddenly, move for peace? yet now, when they had entangled the senate in a pacific embassy, they both denied, that there was any thing new or particular, which induced them to it:* that there could be no occasion, therefore, for new measures, when there was

* Philip. xii. 1.

nothing new in the case itself: that they were drawn in, and deceived by Antony's friends, who were serving his private, not the public interest: that he had seen it from the first, though but darkly, his concern for Brutus having dazzled his eyes, for whose liberty, if a substitute could be accepted, he would freely offer himself to be shut up in his place: that if Antony would humble himself, and sue to them for any thing, he should, perhaps, be for hearing him; but while he stood to his arms, and acted offensively, their business was to resist force by force. But they would tell him, perhaps, that the thing was not in their power, since an embassy was actually decreed. "But what is it," says he, "that is not free to the wise, which it is "possible to retrieve? it is the case of every man "to err, but the part only of a fool to persevere in "error: if we have been drawn away by false and "fallacious hopes, let us turn again into the way; "for the surest harbour to a penitent is a change "of his conduct."* He then shews how the embassy, so far from being of service, would certainly hurt, nay, had already hurt the republic, by checking the zeal of the towns and colonies of Italy, and the courage of the legions, which had declared for them, who could never be eager to fight, while the senate was sounding a retreat.† That nothing was more unjust, than to determine any thing about peace, without the consent of those who were carrying on the war; and not only without, but against their consent: that Hirtius and Cæsar had no thoughts of peace; from whom he had letters then in his hands, declaring their hopes of victory; for their desire was to conquer, and to acquire peace—not by treaty, but by victory.‡ That there could not possibly be any peace with one to whom nothing could be granted: they had voted him to

* Philip. 2. † Ib. 8. ‡ Ib. 4.

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have forged several decrees of the senate;—would they vote them again to be genuine? they had annulled his laws, as made by violence;—would they now consent to restore them? they had decreed him to have embezzled five millions of money;—could such a waste be absolved from a charge of fraud? that immunities, priesthoods, kingdoms, had been sold by him;—could those bargains be confirmed, which their decrees had made void?* That if they should grant him the farther Gaul, and an army, what would it be else, but to defer the war, not to make peace; nay, not only to prolong the war, but to yield him the victory?† "Was it for this," says he, "that we have put on the robe of war, taken "arms, sent out all the youth of Italy; that, with "a most flourishing and numerous army, we should "send an embassy at last for peace? and must I "bear a part in that embassy, or assist in that "council, where, if I differ from the rest, the peo-"ple of Rome can never know it? so that, what-"ever concessions are made to Antony, or whatever "mischief he may do hereafter, it must be at the "hazard of my credit." He then shews, that if an embassy must needs be sent, he, of all men, was the most improper to be employed in it: that he had ever been against any embassy; was the mover of their taking the habit of war; was always for the severest proceedings both against Antony and his associates; that all that party looked upon him as prejudiced, and Antony would be offended at the sight of him.‡ That if they did not trouble themselves how Antony might take it, he begged them at least to spare him the pain of seeing Antony, which he should never be able to bear: who, in a speech, lately, to his parricides, when he was distributing rewards to the boldest of them, had promised Cicero's estate to Petissius: that he should

* Philip. 5. † Ib. 6. ‡ Ib. 7.

never endure the sight of L. Antony, whose cruelty he could not have escaped, but by the defence of his walls and gates, and the zeal of his native town: that though he might be able to command himself, and dissemble his uneasiness at the sight of Antony and his crew, yet some regard should be had to his life; not that he set any value upon it himself, but it ought not to be thought despicable by the senate and people of Rome; since, if he did not deceive himself, it was he who, by his watchings, cares, and votes, had managed matters so, that all the attempts of their enemies had not hitherto been able to do them any harm.* That if his life had been oft attempted at home, where the fidelity of his friends, and the eyes of all Rome, were his guard; what might he not apprehend from so long a journey? that there were three roads from Rome to Modena; the Flaminian, along the upper sea; the Aurelian, along the lower; the Cassian, in the middle: that they were all of them beset by Antony's allies, his own utter enemies: the Cassian, by Lento; the Flaminian, by Ventidius; the Aurelian, by the whole Clodian family.† That he would stay, therefore, in the city, if the senate would give leave, which was his proper seat, his watch, and station: that others might enjoy camps, kingdoms, military commands; he would take care of the city, and the affairs at home, in partnership with them: that he did not refuse the charge, but it was the people who refused it for him; for no man was less timorous, though none more cautious than he: that a statesman ought to leave behind him a reputation of glory in dying, not the reproach of error and folly: "Who," says he, "does not be-"wail the death of Trebonius? yet there are some "who say, though it is hard, indeed, to say it, that "he is the less to be pitied, for not keeping a bet-

* Philip. 8. † Ib. 9.

"ter guard against a base and detestable villain: "for wise men tell us, that he who professes to "guard the lives of others, ought, in the first place, "to keep a guard upon his own."* That if he should happen to escape all the snares of the road, that Antony's rage was so furious, that he would never suffer him to return alive from the congress: that, when he was a young volunteer, in the wars of Italy, he was present at a conference of Cn. Pompey, the consul, and P. Vettius, the general of the Marsi, held between the two camps; there was no fear, no suspicion, nor any violent hatred, on either side: that there was an interview, likewise, between Sylla and Scipio, in their civil wars, where, though faith was not strictly observed, yet no violence was offered:† but the case was different in treating with Antony, where, if others could be safe, he, at least, could not: that Antony would never come into their camp, much less they into his: that, if they transacted affairs by letter, his opinion would always be one and the same; to reduce every thing to the will of the senate: that this would be misrepresented to the veterans, as severe and perverse; and might excite them, perhaps, to some violence. "Let my life, therefore," says he, "be reserved to "the service of my country, as long as either dignity "or nature will allow: let my death fall by the ne- "cessary course of fate; or if I must meet it sooner, "let me meet it with glory. Since the republic, "then, to speak the most moderately, has no occa- "sion for this embassy, yet, if I can undertake it "with safety, I will go; and, in this whole affair, "will govern myself entirely, fathers, not by a re- "gard to my own danger, but to the service of the "state; and, after the most mature deliberation, "will resolve to do that which I shall judge to be "most useful to the public interest."

* Philip. 10. † Ib. 11.

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Though he did not absolutely refuse the employment, yet he dissuaded it so strongly, that the thing was wholly dropped; and Pansa, about the end of the month, marched away towards Gaul, at the head of his new raised army, in order to join Hirtius and Octavius, and without farther delay, to attempt a decisive battle with Antony for the delivery of D. Brutus.

Antony, at the same time, while he was perplexing the counsels of the senate, by the intrigues of his friends, was endeavouring also, by his letters, to shake the resolution of Hirtius and Octavius, and draw them off from the cause, which they were now serving: but their answers seem to have been short and firm; referring him constantly to the authority of the senate: yet, as things were now drawing towards a crisis, he made one effort more upon them; and, in the following expostulatory letter, reproached them, with great freedom, for deserting their true interest, and suffering themselves to be duped, and drawn in by Cicero, to revive the Pompeian cause, and establish a power, which, in the end, would destroy them.

"ANTONIUS TO HIRTIUS AND CÆSAR.

"Upon the news of Trebonius's death, I was "equally affected both with joy and with grief. It "was matter of real joy to me, to see a villain suffer "the vengeance due to the ashes of the most il- "lustrious of men; and that, within the circle of "the current year, the Divine providence has dis- "played itself, by the punishment of parricide, in- "flicted already on some, and ready to fall upon the "rest. But, on the other hand, it is a subject of "just grief to me, that Dolabella should be declared "an enemy, because he has killed a murderer; and "that the son of a buffoon should be dearer to the "people of Rome than Cæsar, the father of his coun-

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" try: but the cruellest reflection of all is, that you, " Hirtius, covered with Cæsar's favours, and left by " him in a condition which you yourself wonder at, " and you too, young man, who owe every thing to his " name, are doing all, which is in your power, that " Dolabella may be thought justly condemned; that " this wretch be delivered from the siege; and Cas- " sius and Brutus be invested with all power. You " look upon the present state of things as people did " upon the past; call Pompey's camp the senate; " have made the vanquished Cicero your captain; " are strengthening Macedonia with armies; have " given Africa to Varus, twice a prisoner; have sent " Cassius into Syria; suffered Casca to act as tri- " bune; suppressed the revenues of the Julian Lu- " perci; abolished the colonies of veterans, esta- " blished by law and the decree of the senate; pro- " mise to restore to the people of Marseilles, what " was taken from them by right of war; forget that " a Pompeian was made incapable of any dignity by " Hirtius's law; have supplied Brutus with Appu- " leius's money; applauded the putting to death " Poetus and Menedemus, Cæsar's friends, whom " he made free of the city; took no notice of Theo- " pompus, when, stripped and banished by Trebo- " nius, he fled to Alexandria; you see Ser. Galba in " your camp, armed with the same poignard with " which he stabbed Cæsar; have enlisted my sol- " diers, and other veterans, on pretence of destroy- " ing those who killed Cæsar; and then employ " them, before they know what they are doing, " against their quæstor, or their general, or their " comrades: what have you not done, which Pom- " pey himself, were he alive, or his son, if he could, " would not do? In short, you deny that any peace " can be made, unless I set Brutus at liberty, or sup- " ply him with provisions: can this please those " veterans, who have not yet declared themselves? " for as to your part, you have sold yourselves to

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"the flatteries and poisoned honours of the senate. "But you come, you say, to preserve the troops "which are besieged. I am not against their being "saved, or going wherever you please: if they will "but leave him to perish, who has deserved it. "You write me word, that the mention of concord "has been revived in the senate, and five consular "ambassadors appointed; it is hard to believe, that "those, who have driven me to this extremity when "I offered the fairest conditions, and was willing to "remit some part of them, should do any thing with "moderation or humanity: nor is it probable, that "the same men, who voted Dolabella an enemy for "a most laudable act, can ever forgive me, who am "in the same sentiments with him. Wherefore, it "is your business to reflect, which of the two is the "more eligible, or more useful to our common inter- "est; to revenge the death of Trebonius, or of "Cæsar: and which the more equitable; for us to "act against each other, that the Pompeian cause, "so often defeated, may recover itself; or to join "our forces lest we become, at last, the sport of our "enemies; who, which of us soever may happen to "fall, are sure to be the gainers. But fortune has "hitherto prevented that spectacle; unwilling to see "two armies, like members of the same body, fight- "ing against each other; and Cicero, all the while, "like a master of gladiators, matching us, and or- "dering the combat; who is so far happy, as to "have caught you with the same bait, with which "he brags to have caught Cæsar. For my part, I "am resolved to suffer no affront, either to myself "or my friends; nor to desert the party which Pom- "pey hated; nor to see the veterans driven out of "their possessions, and dragged one by one to the "rack; nor to break my word with Dolabella; "nor to violate my league with Lepidus, a most re- "ligious man; nor to betray Plancus, the partner of "all my counsels. If the immortal gods support

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" me, as I hope they will, in the pursuit of so good " a cause, I shall live with pleasure; but if any other " fate expects me, I taste a joy however before- " hand, in the sure foresight of your punishment: " for if the Pompeians are so insolent, when con- " quered, how much more they will be so, when " conquerors, it will be your lot to feel. In a word, " this is the sum of my resolution: I can forgive " the injuries of my friends, if they themselves are dis- " posed, either to forget them, or prepared, in con- " junction with me, to revenge the death of Cæsar: " I cannot believe that any ambassadors will come; " when they do, I shall know what they have to de- " mand."* Hirtius and Cæsar, instead of answering this letter, sent it directly to Cicero, at Rome, to make what use of it he thought fit with the senate, or the people.

In this interval, Lepidus wrote a public letter to the senate, to exhort them to measures of peace, and to save the effusion of civil blood, by contriving some way of reconciling Antony and his friends to the service of their country; without giving the least intimation of his thanks for the public honours, which they had lately decreed to him. This was not at all agreeable to the senate, and confirmed their former jealousy of his disaffection to the republic, and good understanding with Antony. They agreed, however, to a vote proposed by Servilius, that Lepidus should be thanked for his love of peace, and care of the citizens, yet should be desired, not to trouble himself any farther about it, but to leave that affair to them; who thought there could be no peace, unless Antony should lay down his arms, and sue for it. This letter gave Antony's friends a fresh handle to renew their instances for a treaty, for the sake of obliging Lepidus, who had it in his power, they said, to force them to it: which put Cicero,

* Vid. Philip. 13. 10, &c.

once more, to the trouble of confuting and exposing all their arguments. He told them, that he was ever afraid, from the first, lest an insidious offer of peace should damp the common zeal, for the recovery of their liberty: that, whoever delighted in discord, and the blood of citizens, ought to be expelled from the society of human kind: yet it was to be considered, whether there were not some wars, wholly inexpiable; where no peace could be made, and where a treaty of peace was but a stipulation of slavery:* that the war now on foot was of this sort; undertaken against a set of men who were natural enemies to society; whose only pleasure it was to oppress, plunder, and murder their fellow-creatures; and to restore such to the city, was to destroy the city itself.† That they ought to remember what decrees they had already made against them, such as had never been made against a foreign enemy, or any with whom there could be peace: that since wisdom, as well as fortitude, was expected from men of their rank, though these indeed could hardly be separated, yet he was willing to consider them separately, and follow what wisdom, the more cautious and guarded of the two, prescribed.—"If "wisdom, then," says he, "should command me to "hold nothing so dear as life; to decree nothing at "the hazard of my head; to avoid all danger, though "slavery was sure to be the consequence; I would "reject that wisdom, be it ever so learned: but if it "teaches us to preserve our lives, our fortunes, our "families, yet so as to think them inferior to liberty; "to wish to enjoy them no longer than we can do it "in a free republic; not to part with our liberty for "them, but to throw them all away for liberty, as "exposing us only to greater mischief without it; I "would then listen to her voice, and obey her as a "god."‡ That no man had a greater respect for

* Philip. 13. 1. † Ib. 2. ‡ Ib. 3.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

Lepidus than himself; and though there had been an old friendship between them, yet he valued him, not so much for that, as his services to the public, in prevailing with young Pompey to lay down his arms, and free his country from the misery of a cruel war: that the republic had many pledges of fidelity from Lepidus; his great nobility, great honours, high-priesthood, many parts of the city adorned by him and his ancestors, his wife, children, great fortunes, pure from any taint of civil blood, no citizen ever hurt, many preserved by him: that such a man might err in judgment, but could never wilfully be an enemy to his country. That his desire of peace was laudable, if he could make such a peace for them now, as when he restored Pompey to them. That for this they had decreed him greater honours than had been given before to any man, a statue with a splendid inscription, and a triumph even in absence.*—That, by good fortune, they had managed matters so, that Pompey's return might consist with the validity of Cæsar's acts, which, for the sake of peace, they had confirmed; since they had decreed to Pompey the five millions and a half, which were raised by the sale of his estates, to enable him to buy them again: he desired, that the task of replacing him in the possessions of his ancestors, might be committed to him for his old friendship with his father: that it should be his first care to nominate him an augur, and repay the same favour to the son, which he himself received from the father:† that those who had seen him lately at Marseilles, brought word that he was ready to come with his troops to the relief of Modena, but that he was afraid of giving offence to the veterans; which shewed him to be the true son of that father, who used to act with as much prudence as courage. That it was Lepidus's busi-

* Philip. 4. † Ib. 5.

ness to take care, not to be thought to act with more arrogance than became him: that if he meant to frighten them with his army, he should remember that it was the army of the senate and people of Rome, not his own.* That if he interposed his authority without arms, that was indeed the more laudable, but would hardly be thought necessary: for, though his authority was as great with them as that of the noblest citizen ought to be, yet the senate was not unmindful of their own dignity; and there never was a graver, firmer, stouter senate than the present. That they were all so incensed against the enemies of their liberty, that no man's authority could repress their ardour, or extort their arms from them. That they hoped the best, but would rather suffer the worst than live slaves.† That there was no danger to be apprehended from Lepidus, since he could not enjoy the splendour of his own fortunes, but with the safety of all honest men. That nature first makes men honest, but fortune confirms them: for though it was the common interest of all to promote the safety of the public, yet it was more particularly of those who were happy in their fortunes. That nobody was more so than Lepidus, and nobody, therefore, better disposed: of which the people saw a remarkable instance, in the concern which he expressed, when Antony offered a diadem to Cæsar, and chose to be his slave rather than his colleague; for which single act, if he had been guilty of nothing else, he had richly deserved the worst punishment.‡ Then, after inveighing, as usual, against Antony, through several pages, he declared all thoughts of peace with him to be vain; and, for a fresh proof of it, produced his last letter to Hirtius and Octavius, and read it publicly to the assembly: not that he thought it worth reading, he says, but to let them see his traitorous views openly

* Philip. 6. † Ib. 7. ‡ Ib. 8.

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avowed and confessed by himself. He read it to them paragraph by paragraph, with his own comment and remarks upon it; rallying all along, with great wit and spirit, the rage, the extravagance, the inconsistency, the folly, and the inaccuracy of each sentence. On the whole, he says, that if Lepidus had seen it, he would neither have advised, or thought any peace with him possible. That fire and water would sooner unite, than the Antonys be reconciled to the republic. That the first and best thing, therefore, was to conquer; the second, to decline no danger for the liberty of their country; that there was no third thing, but the last and worst of all, to submit to the utmost baseness, through a desire of living. For which reasons, he declared his concurrence with Servilius, in the vote upon Lepidus's letters; and proposed an additional decree, either to be joined to the other, or published separately.—That Pompey the Great, the son of Cnæus, in offering his service and his troops to the senate and people of Rome, had acted agreeably to the courage and zeal of his father and ancestors; and to his own virtue, industry, and good disposition to the republic: and that the thing was grateful and acceptable to the senate and people, and would hereafter be an honour to himself.

After the debate, which ended as Cicero wished, he sent the following short letter to Lepidus, which, by the coldness and negligence with which it was drawn, seems to be designed to let Lepidus see, that they were perfectly easy and secure at Rome, whatever measures he might think fit to take.

"CICERO TO LEPIDUS.

"WHILE out of the great respect which I bear to "you, I am making it my particular care to advance "your dignity as much as possible, it was a con- "cern to me, to see that you did not think it worth

" while to return your thanks to the senate, for the " extraordinary honours which they have lately con- " ferred upon you. I rejoice, however, that you " are so desirous of making peace among citizens: " if you can separate that peace from slavery, you " will consult both the good of the republic, and " your own dignity: but if the effect of it be, to re- " store a desperate man to an arbitrary dominion, I " would have you to know, that all men of sense have " taken a resolution to prefer death to servitude. " You will act more wisely, therefore, in my judg- " ment, if you meddle no farther with that affair of " peace; which is not agreeable either to the senate " or the people, or to any honest man: but you will " hear enough of this from others, or be informed " of it by letters, and will be directed by your own " prudence, what is the best for you to do."*

Plancus, too, who commanded in Gaul, and now resided near Lyons, at the head of a brave army, enforced Lepidus's advice, by a letter likewise to the senate on the same subject of peace; to which Cicero wrote the following answer:

" CICERO TO PLANCUS.

" THE account which our friend Furnius brought " of your affection to the republic, was highly agree- " able both to the senate and people of Rome: but " your letter, when read in the senate, did not seem to " agree with Furnius's report; for you advised us " to peace, when your colleague, a man of the " greatest eminence, was besieged by most infamous " plunderers; who ought either to sue for peace, by " laying down their arms, or, if they demand it, " with sword in hand, it must be procured by vic- " tory, not treaty. But in what manner your let- " ters, as well as Lepidus's also, were received, you

* Ep. Fam. x. 27.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

"will understand from that excellent man your bro-
"ther, and from Furnius,"* &c.

C. Antony, whom we mentioned above to have retreated with seven cohorts to Apollonia, not daring to wait for Brutus's arrival, who was now advancing towards him, marched out to Buthrotum, to seek his fortune elsewhere, in quarters more secure and remote: but being overtaken and attacked on his march by a part of Brutus's army, he lost three of his cohorts in the action; and in a second engagement, with another body of troops, which young Cicero commanded, was entirely routed and taken prisoner: which made Brutus absolute master of the country, without any farther opposition.† This fresh success gave occasion for a second letter from Brutus so the senate; of which Cicero makes the following mention: "Your let-
"ter," says he, "which was read in the senate,
"shews the counsel of the general, the virtue of
"your soldiers, the industry of your officers, and
"in particular, of my Cicero. If your friends had
"been willing to move the senate upon it, and if
"it had not fallen into most turbulent times, since
"the departure of Pansa, some just and proper
"honour would have been decreed for it to the
"gods."‡

The taking C. Antony prisoner put Brutus under some difficulty in what manner he should treat him: if he set him at liberty, to which he was inclined, he had reason to apprehend fresh trouble from him, both to himself and the republic: if he kept him prisoner in his camp, he was afraid, lest some sedition might be raised on his account, and, by his intrigues, in his own army: or if he put him to

* Ep. Fam. 6. † Plut. in Brut.

‡ Tuæ litteræ, quæ in Senatu recitatæ sunt, et Imperatoris consilium et militum virtutem, et industriam tuorum, in quibus Ciceronis mei declarant. Quod si tuis placuisset de his litteris referri, et nisi in tempus turbulentissimum post discessum Pansæ incidissent, honos quoque justus ac debitus Diis immortalibus decretus esset. Ad Brut. 2. 7.

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death, that it would be thought an act of cruelty, which his nature abhorred. He consulted Cicero, therefore, upon it, by letter. "C. Antony," says he, "is still with me; but, in truth, I am moved "with the prayers of the man, and afraid lest "the madness of some should make him the occa- "sion of mischief to me. I am wholly at a loss "what to do with him. If I knew your mind, I "should be at ease: for I should think that the "best which you advised."* Cicero's advice was, to keep him under a safe guard, till they knew the fate of D. Brutus, in Modena.† Brutus, however, treated him with great lenity, and seemed much disposed to give him his liberty: for which purpose he not only wrote to the senate about it himself, but permitted Antony to write too, and with the style of proconsul; which surprised and shocked all his friends at Rome, and especially Cicero, who expostulates with him for it in the following terms:

"On the thirteenth of April," says he, "your "messenger, Pilus, brought us two letters, the one "in your name, the other in Antony's, and gave "them to Servilius, the tribune; he to Cornutus, "the prætor. They were read in the senate. An- "tony, proconsul, raised as much wonder as if it "had been Dolabella, emperor; from whom also "there came an express; but nobody, like your "Pilus, was so hardy as to produce the letters, or "deliver them to the magistrates. Your letter "was read; short indeed, but extremely mild to- "wards Antony: the senate was amazed at it. "For my part, I did not know how to act. Should "I affirm it to be forged—what if you should "own it? Should I admit it to be genuine—that

* Antonius adhuc est nobiscum: sed medius fidius et moveor hominis precibus, et timeo ne illum aliquorum furor excipiat. Plane æstuo. Quod si scirem quid tibi placeret, sine sollicitudine essem. Id enim optimum esse persuasum esset mihi. Ad Brut. 2. 5.

† Quod me de Antonio consulis: quoad Bruti exitum cognorimus, custodiendum puto. Ib. 4.

" was not for your honour. I chose, therefore, to " be silent that day. On the next, when the affair " had made some noise, and Pilus's carriage had " given offence, I began the debate; said much of " proconsul Antony: Sextius performed his part, " and observed to me, afterwards, in private, what " danger his son and mine would be liable to, if " they had really taken up arms against a procon- " sul.—You know the man: he did justice to the " cause. Others also spoke, but our friend La- " beo took notice that your seal was not put to the " letter; nor any date added; nor had you written " about it, as usual, to your friends: from which " he maintained the letter to be forged, and, in " short, convinced the house of it. It is now your " part, Brutus, to consider the whole state and " nature of the war: you are delighted, I perceive, " with lenity, and think it the best way of proceed- " ing: this, indeed, is generally right; but the " proper place of clemency is in cases and seasons " very different from the present: for what are we " doing now, Brutus?—we see a needy and des- " perate crew threatening the very temples of the " gods; and that the war must necessarily decide " whether we are to live or not. Who is it, then, " whom we are sparing? or what is it that we " mean? Are we consulting the safety of those, " who, if they get the better, are sure not to leave " the least remains of us?—for what difference is " there between Dolabella and any of the three " Antonys?—if we spare any of these, we have been " too severe to Dolabella. It was owing chiefly to " my advice and authority, that the senate and people " are in this way of thinking, though the thing itself, " indeed, also obliged them to it; if you do not ap- " prove this policy, I shall defend your opinion, but " cannot depart from my own; the world expects " from you nothing either remiss or cruel: it is easy

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" to moderate the matter, by severity to the leaders—
" generosity to the soldiers."*

Cicero had now done every thing that human prudence could do towards the recovery of the republic: for all that vigour, with which it was making this last effort for itself, was entirely owing to his counsels and authority. As Antony was the most immediate and desperate enemy who threatened it, so he had armed against him the whole strength of Italy, and raised up a force sufficient to oppress him. Young Octavius, next to Antony, was the most formidable to the friends of liberty; but, from the contrast of their personal interests, and their jealousy of each other's views, Cicero managed the opportunity to employ the one to the ruin of the other; yet so as to provide, at the same time, against any present danger from Octavius, by throwing a superiority of power into the hands of the consuls; whom, from being the late ministers of Cæsar's tyranny, he had gained over to the interests of liberty. But besides the difficulties, which he had to struggle with at home, in bringing matters to this point, he had greater discouragements abroad, from the commanders of the several provinces: they were all promoted to those governments by Cæsar, the proper creatures of his power, and the abettors of his tyranny;† and were now full of hopes, either of advancing themselves to dominion, or to a share of it, at least, by espousing the cause of some more powerful pretender. Men of this turn, at the head of great and veteran armies, would not easily be persuaded to submit to a senate which they had been taught to despise, or to reduce the military power, which had long governed all, to a dependence on the civil. Yet Cicero omitted no pains of exhorting them, by letters, and inviting them, by ho-

* Ad Brut. 2. 7.

† Vides Tyranni Satellites in Imperiis: vides ejusdem exercitus in latere veteranos. Ad Att. 14. 5.

nours, to prefer the glory of saving their country, to all other views whatsoever. Those, whom he most distrusted, and for that reason most particularly pressed, were Lepidus, Pollio, and Plancus; who, by the strength of their armies, and their procession of Gaul and Spain, were the best qualified to serve or to distress the republican cause. He had little hopes of the two first; yet managed them so well, by representing the strength of the honest party, the unanimity of the senate, of the consuls, and all Italy, that he forced them, at least, to dissemble their disaffection, and make great professions of their duty; and, above all, to stand neuter till the affairs of Italy were decided, on which the fate of the republic seemed chiefly to depend. Nay, he seems to have drawn Plancus entirely into his measures: as appears from his account of him to Brutus,* and from Plancus's own letters, in which he gives the strongest assurance of his fidelity, and offers to lead his troops to the relief of Modena; and was actually upon his march towards it, when he heard upon the road of Antony's defeat.—Not long before which, Cicero sent him the following letter:

"CICERO TO PLANCUS.

"THOUGH I understand, from the account of "my friend Furnius, what your design and reso- "lution was, with regard to the republic; yet, "after reading your letters, I was able to form a "clearer judgment of your whole purpose. Where- "fore, though the fate of the commonwealth de- "pends wholly on one battle, which will be de- "cided, I believe, when you are reading this let- "ter, yet you have acquired great applause, by "the very fame, which was every where spread, of

* Planci animum in Rempub. egregium, legiones, auxilia, copias ex litteris ejus, quarum exemplum tibi missum arbitor, perspicere potuisti. Ad Brut. 2. 2.

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" your good intentions: and if there had been a " consul at Rome, the senate by decreeing some " considerable honour to you, would have declared " how acceptable your endeavours and prepara- " tions were. But that time is not only not yet " past, but was not in my judgment even ripe: for, " after all, that alone passes with me for honour, " which is conferred on great men, not for the hopes " of future, but the experience of past services. If, " then, there be any republic, in which honour can " have its proper lustre, take my word for it, you " shall have your share of the greatest: though " that, which can truly be called honour, is not an " invitation to a temporary, but the reward of an ha- " bitual virtue. Wherefore, my dear Plancus, turn " your whole thoughts towards glory: help your " country; fly to the relief of your colleague; sup- " port this wonderful consent and concurrence of " all nations: you will ever find me the promoter " of your counsels, the favourer of your dignity, and " on all occasions, most friendly and faithful to you: " for to all the other motives of our union, our mu- " tual affection, good offices, old acquaintance, the " love of our country, which is now added, makes " me prefer your life to my own. May 29th."*

Plancus, in the mean time, sent a second letter to the senate, to assure them of the zeal and resolution to adhere to them; and to acquaint them with the steps which he had already taken for their service: upon which they decreed him some extraordinary honours, at the motion of Cicero, who sent him the following account of it.

" CICERO TO PLANCUS.

" THOUGH, out of regard to the republic, my " greatest joy ought to be, for your bringing such

* Ep. Fam. x. 10.

"relief and help to it, in a time almost of extremity; "yet, may I so embrace you after victory and the "recovery of our liberty, as it is your dignity, that "gives me the chief part of my pleasure; which "already is, and ever will be, I perceive, as great "as possible. For I would not have you think, "that any letters were ever read in the senate of "greater weight than your's; both for the eminent "merit of your services, and the gravity of your "words and sentiments: which was not at all new "to me, who was so well acquainted with you, and "remembered the promises of your letters to me, "and understood the whole purpose of your coun-"sels, from our Furnius: but they appeared greater "to the senate than was expected; not that they "ever had any doubt of your inclinations, but did "not fully understand how much you were able to "do, or how far you would expose yourself in the "cause. When M. Varisidius, therefore, brought "me your letters, very early on the seventh of "April, I was transported with joy upon reading "them; and, as a great multitude of excellent citi-"zens were then waiting to attend my going abroad, "I instantly gave them all a part of my pleasure. "In the meanwhile, our friend Munatius, accord-"ing to custom, came to join me: I presently "shewed him your letter, of which he knew nothing "before; for Varisidius came first to me, as you, he "said, had ordered him; soon after, the same Mu-"natius returned to me with the other two letters; "that which you had sent to him, and that to the "senate: we resolved to carry the last directly to "the prætor, Cornutus, who, by the custom of our "ancestors, supplies the place of the consuls in "their absence. The senate was immediately "called, and, upon the fame and expectation of "your letters, made up a full house. After they "were read, a scruple of religion was objected to

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" Cornutus, from the report of the guardians of the " Chickens, that he had not duly consulted the " auspices; which was confirmed likewise by our " college: so that the affair was adjourned to the " next day. On that day I had a great contest " about your dignity, with Servilius, who procured, " by his interest, to have his opinion declared the " first: but the senate left him, and all went the " contrary way: but when they were coming into " my opinion, which was delivered the second, the " tribune, Titius, at his request, interposed his ne- " gative; and so the debate was put off again to the " day following. Servilius came prepared to sup- " port his opposition, though against Jupiter him- " self, in whose temple the thing passed: in what " manner I handled him, and what a struggle I had " to throw off Titius's negative, I would have you " learn rather from other people's letters: take this, " however, from mine, that the senate could not " possibly act with more gravity, firmness, and re- " gard to your honour, than it did on this occasion; " nor is the senate more friendly to you than the " whole city; for the body of the people, and all " ranks and orders of men, are wonderfully united " in the defence of the republic. Go on, there " fore, as you have begun, and recommend your " name to immortality: and for all these things, " which from the vain badges of outward splendour, " carry a shew of glory—despise them; look upon " them as trifling, transitory, perishing. True ho- " nour is placed singly in virtue; which is illustrated " with most advantage by great services to our " country. You have the best opportunity for this " in the world; which, since you have embraced, " persevere and go through with it, that the repub- " lic may not owe less to you, than you to the " republic: you will find me not only the favourer, " but the advancer of your dignity: this I take

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" myself to owe both to the republic, which is dearer " to me than my life, and to our friendship, &c. " April the eleventh."*

Plancus answered him, not long after, to the following effect.

" PLANCUS TO CICERO.

" It is a pleasure to me to reflect, that I have " never promised any thing rashly of myself to you; " nor you, for me, to others. In this you have the " clearer proof of my love; that I desire to make " you acquainted with my designs, before any man " else. You already see, I hope, that my services " to the public will grow greater every day: I pro- " mise that you shall soon be convinced of it. As " for me, my dear Cicero, may the republic be so " delivered, by my help, from its present dangers, " as I esteem your honours and rewards equal to " an immortality; yet, were I still without them, I " would remit nothing of my present zeal and per- " severance. If, in the multitude of excellent citi- " zens, I do not distinguish myself, by a singular " vigour and industry, I desire no accession to my " dignity from your favour: but, in truth, I desire " nothing at all for myself at present; nay, am even " against it, and willingly make you the arbiter " both of the time and the thing itself: a citizen " can think nothing late or little, which is given by " his country. I passed the Rhone, with my army, " by great journies, on the twenty-sixth of April; " sent a thousand horse before me, by a shorter " way, from Vienna. As for myself, if I am not " hindered by Lepidus, none shall complain of my " want of expedition: if he opposes me on my road, " I shall take my measures from the occasion: the " troops which I bring, are, for number, kind, and

* Ep. Fam. x. 12.

" fidelity, extremely firm. I beg the continuance " of your affection, as long as you find yourself as- " sured of mine. Adieu."*

Pollio, likewise, who now commanded the farther Spain, with three good legions, though he was Antony's particular friend, yet made the strongest professions to Cicero, of his resolution to defend the republic against all invaders. In one of his letters, after excusing himself, for not having written earlier and oftener, he says, " Both my nature and studies " draw me to the desire of peace and liberty; for " which reason I always lamented the occasion of " the late war; but, as it was not possible for me " to be of no party, because I had great enemies " every where, I ran from that camp, where I could " not be safe from the treachery of an enemy; and, " being driven whither I least desired, freely ex- " posed myself to dangers, that I might not make a " contemptible figure among those of my rank. As " for Cæsar himself, I loved him with the utmost " piety and fidelity, because he treated me on the " foot of his oldest friends, though known to him " only in the height of his fortunes. When I was at " liberty to act after my own mind, I acted so, that " the best men should most applaud me: what I " was commanded to do, I did so as to shew that " it was done by command, and not by inclination. " The unjust odium, which I suffered on that ac- " count, has sufficiently convinced me, how sweet " a thing liberty is, and how wretched is life under " the dominion of another. If the contest then be, " to bring us all again under the power of one, who- " ever that one be, I profess myself his enemy: nor " is there any danger which I would decline, or " wish to avoid, for the sake of liberty. But the " consuls have not, either by decree or letters, given " me any orders what to do; I have had but one

* Ep. Fam. x. 9.

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"letter from Pansa, since the Ides of March; in "which he exhorts me to signify to the senate, that "I and my army would be in their power; but when "Lepidus was declaring openly to his army, and "writing to every body, that he was in the same "sentiments with Antony, that step would have "been wholly absurd and improper for me: for "how could I get forage for my troops against his "will, in marching through his province? or, if I "had surmounted all other difficulties, could I fly "over the Alps, which were possessed by his gar-"risons? Nobody will deny, that I declared pub-"licly to my soldiers, at Corduba, that I would not "deliver the province to any man, unless he were "commissioned by the senate: wherefore you are "to look upon me as one, who, in the first place, "am extremely desirous of peace, and the safety of "all the citizens; in the second, prepared to assert "my own and my country's liberty. I am more "pleased than you can imagine, that my friend Gal-"lus is so dear to you: I envy him for walking and "joking with you: you will ask, perhaps, at what "rate I value that privilege; you shall know by "experience, if ever it be in our power to live in "quiet; for I will never stir one step from you. I "am surprised that you never signified, in your "letters, how I should be able to do the most ser-"vice, by staying in the province, or bringing my "army into Italy. For my part, though to stay be "more safe, and less troublesome; yet, since I see "that, in such a time as this, there is more want of "legions than of provinces, which may easily be re-"covered; I am resolved, as things now stand, to "come away with my army—from Corduba, the "fifteenth of March."*

There are several letters also still extant, written at this time, from Cicero to Cornificius, who go-

* Ep. Fam. x. 31.

verned Afric; exhorting him, in the same manner, to firmness in the defence of the republic, and to guard his province from all invaders, who should attempt to extort it from him: and this man, after all, was the only commander, who kept his word with him, and performed his part to his country; and lost his life, at last, in maintaining that province in its allegiance to the republic.*

P. Servilius, who has often been mentioned in the debtes of the senate, was a person of great rank and nobility; had been consul with J. Cæsar, in the beginning of the civil war; the son of that Servilius, who, by his conquests near mount Taurus, obtained the surname of Isauricus. He affected the character of a patriot, but having had a particular friendship with Antony, was much courted by that party; who took the advantage of his vanity, to set him up as a rival to Cicero in the management of public affairs; in which he frequently obstructed Cicero's measures, and took a pride to thwart and disappoint whatever he proposed; Cicero had long suffered this with patience, out of a regard to the public service; till, provoked by his late opposition in the affair of Plancus, he could not forbear treating him with an unusual severity and resentment; of which he gives an account in a letter to Brutus.

"CICERO TO BRUTUS.

"From Plancus's letters, of which a copy, I "imagine, has been sent to you, you will perceive "his excellent disposition towards the republic, "with the condition of his legions, auxiliaries, and "whole forces. Your own people have informed "you, I guess, by this time, of the levity, incon-"stancy, and perpetual disaffection of your friend

* Vid. Ep. Fam, 12. 24, &c. App. l. 621. Dio, l. 48. 307.

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"Lepidus; who, next to his own brother, hates "you, his near relations, the most. Who are anxi- "ous with an expectation, which is now reduced "to the last crisis: all our hopes are fixed on the "delivery of D. Brutus, for whom we have been "in great apprehension. For my part, I have bu- "siness enough on my hands at home, with the "madman Servilius; whom I have endured longer "than became my dignity: but I did it for the "sake of the republic, lest I should give the dis- "affected a leader, not well affected, indeed, him- "self, yet noble, to resort to; which, nevertheless, "they still do. But I was not for alienating him "wholly from the republic; I have now put an end "to my forbearance of him; for he began to be so "insolent, that he looked upon no man as free. "But, in Plancus's debate, he was strangely mor- "tified; and, after two days contest, was so roughly "handled by me, that he will be the modester, I "dare say, for the future. In the midst of our con- "tention, on the nineteenth of April, I had letters "delivered to me, in the senate, from our friend "Lentulus, in Asia, with an account of Cassius, "the legions, and Syria; which, when I read pre- "sently in public, Servilius sunk, and many more "besides; for there are some of eminent rank, who "think most wickedly; but Servilius was most "sensibly chagrined, for the senate's agreeing to my "motion about Plancus. The part which he acts "is monstrous."*

The news, which is mentioned in this letter to have been sent by Lentulus of Cassius's success, was soon after confirmed by particular letters to Cicero from Brutus and Cassius themselves, signifying that Cassius had possessed himself of Syria before Dolabella arrived there; that the generals, L. Murcus, and Q. Crispus, had given up their ar-

* Ad Brut. 2. 4.

mies to him; that a separate legion, under Cæcilius Bassus, had submitted to him against the will of their leader: that four other legions, sent by Cleopatra from Egypt, to the assistance of Dolabella, under his lieutenant Allienus, had all declared for him: and, lest the first letter should miscarry, as they often did from such a distance, by passing through the enemy's quarters, Cassius sent him a second, with a more full and distinct account of all particulars.

"CASSIUS, PROCONSUL, TO HIS FRIEND CICERO.

"If you are in health, it is a pleasure to me; I "am also very well. I have read your letter, in "which I perceived your wonderful affection for "me; for you not only wish me well, which in- "deed you have always done, both for my own "sake and the republic's; but entertain an uncom- "mon concern and solicitude for me. Wherefore, "as I imagined, in the first place, that you would "think it impossible for me to sit still, and see the "republic oppressed; and, in the second, that, "whenever you supposed me to be in action, you "would be solicitous about my safety and success; "so, as soon as I was master of the legions which "Allienus brought from Egypt, I immediately wrote "to you, and sent several expresses to Rome: I "wrote letters also to the senate, but forbade the "delivery of them till they had been first shewn to "you. If these letters have not reached you, I "make no doubt but that Dolabella, who by the "wicked murder of Trebonius, is master of Asia, has "seized my messengers, and intercepted them. I "have all the armies which were in Syria under "my command; and having been forced to sit still "a while, till I had discharged my promises to "them, am now ready to take the field. I beg of "you to take my honour and interests under your

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

"special care: for you know that I have never re-
"fused any danger or labour for the service of my
"country: that by your advice and authority, I
"took arms against these infamous robbers: that
"I have not only raised armies for the defence of the
"republic and our liberty, but have snatched them
"from the hands of the most cruel tyrants; which
"if Dolabella had seized before me, he would have
"given fresh spirit to Antony's cause; not only by
"the approach, but by the fame and expectation
"of his troops; for which reasons, take my sol-
"diers, I beseech you, under your protection, if
"you think them to have deserved well of the state;
"and let none of them have reason to repent that
"they have preferred the cause of the republic to
"the hopes of plunder and rapine. Take care, also,
"as far as it is in your power, that due honour
"be paid to the emperors, Marcus and Crispus;
"for Bassus was miserably unwilling to deliver up
"his legion; and, if his soldiers had not sent a
"deputation to me in spite of him, would have held
"out Apamea against me, till it could be taken by
"force. I beg this of you, not only for the sake
"of the republic, which, of all things, was ever the
"dearest to you, but of our friendship also, which
"I am confident has a great weight with you.
"Take my word for it, the army which I have is
"the senate's, and every honest man's, and, above
"all, your's: for, by hearing perpetually of your
"good disposition, they have conceived a wonder-
"ful affection for you; and, when they come to
"understand that you make their interests your
"special care, they think themselves indebted to
"you for every thing. Since I wrote this, I have
"heard that Dolabella is come into Cilicia with all
"his forces: I will follow him thither, and take
"care that you shall soon be informed of what I
"have done. I wish only that my success may
"be answerable to my good intentions. Con-

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

"tinue the care of your health, and your love to "me."*

Brutus, who had sent this good news before to Cicero, as well as to his mother, and sister Tertia, charged the latter not to make it public till they had first consulted Cicero, whether it was proper to do so or not.† He was afraid lest the great prosperity of Cassius might give umbrage to the Cæsarian party, and raise a jealousy in the leaders, who were acting against Antony, that the republican interest would grow too strong for them. But Cicero sent him word that the news was already known at Rome, before his letters arrived; and though there was some ground for his apprehensions, yet on the whole, they thought it more adviseable to publish than to suppress it.‡

Thus Cicero as he declared to the senate, by his letters, expresses and exhortations, was perpetually exciting all, who had power or command in any part of the empire, to the common defence of their liberty;§ and, for his pains, had all the rage and malice of the factious to struggle with at home. These were particularly troublesome to him at this time, by spreading false reports every day from Modena, of Antony's success, or, what was more to be apprehended, of his union with the consuls against D. Brutus: which raised such a terror through the city, that all honest men were preparing to run away to Brutus or Cassius.‖ Cicero, however, was not disheartened at it, but in the general consternation, appeared cheerful and easy;

* Ep. Fam. 12. 12. vid. ib. 11.

† Ego scripsi ad Tertiam sororem et matrem, ne prius ederent hoc, quod optime ac felicissime gessit Cassius, quam tuum consilium cognovissent. Ad Brut. 2. 5.

‡ Video te veritum esse, id quod verendum fuit, ne animi partium Cæsaris—vehementer commoverentur. Sed antequam tuas litteras accepimus, audita res erat et pervulgata. Ib. 6.

§ Meis litteris, meis nunciis, meis, cohortationibus, omnes, qui ubique essent, ad patriæ præsidium excitatos. Philip. 14. 7.

‖ Triduo vero aut quatriduo—timore quodam perculsa civitas tota ad te se cum conjugibus et liberis effundebat. Ad Brut. 3. vid. it. Ep. Fam. 12. 2.

and, as he sends word to Brutus, had a perfect confidence in the consuls, while the majority of his friends distrusted them; and, from the number and firmness of their troops, had but little doubt of their victory, if ever they came to a battle with Antony.* But what touched him more sensibly, was a story, kept up for some days with great industry, that he had formed a design to make himself master of the city, and declare himself dictator, and would appear publicly with the fasces within a day or two. The report, as groundless as it was, seems to have disturbed him; but when Appuleius, the tribune, one of his warm friends, was taking pains to confute it, and justify him in a speech to the people, they all cried out, with one voice, that Cicero had never done, nor designed to do, any thing, but what was the best and most beneficial to the republic:† this gave him some comfort; but what brought him much greater was, the certain news of a victory gained over Antony, at Modena, which arrived within a few hours after Appuleius's speech.‡

The siege of Modena, which lasted near four months, was one of the most memorable in all antiquity, for the vigour both of the attack and the defence. Antony had invested it so closely, and posted himself so advantageously, that no succours could be thrown into it; and Brutus, though reduced to the utmost straits, defended it still with the greatest resolution. The old writers have recorded some stratagems, which are said to have

* Tristes enim de Bruto nostro litteræ, nunciique afferebantur, me quidem non maxime conturbabant. His enim exercitibus, ducibusque quos habemus nullo modo poteram diffidere. Neque assentiebar majori parti hominum. Fidem enim consulum non condemnabam, quæ suspecta vehementer erat. Desiderabam nonnullis in rebus prudentiam et celeritatem. Ad Brut. 2. 1.

† Itaque. P. Appuleius—doloris mei concionem habuit maximam—in qua, cum me—liberare suspicione fascium vellet; una voce cuncta concio declaravit, nihil esse a me unquam de Repub. nisi optime cogitatum. Philip. 14. 6.

‡ Post hanc concionem duabus tribusve horis optatissimi nuntii et litteræ venerunt. Ib.

been put in practice on this occasion, how Hirtius provided men skilled in diving, with letters written on lead, to pass into the town under the river which runs through it; till Antony obstructed that passage, by nets and traps placed under water; which gave occasion to another contrivance, of sending their intelligence backwards and forwards by pigeons.*

Pansa was now upon the point of joining Hirtius, with four legions of new levies, which he brought from Rome; but when he was advanced within a few miles of Hirtius's camp, Antony privately drew out some of his best troops, with design to surprise him on the road, before that union, and to draw him, if possible, to an engagement against his will. We have a particular account of the action, in a letter to Cicero from Ser. Galba, one of the conspirators against Cæsar, who bore a principal part and command in it.

"GALBA TO CICERO.

"On the fifteenth of April; the day on which "Pansa was to arrive in Hirtius's camp (in whose "company I was, for I went a hundred miles to "meet him, on purpose to hasten his march) An- "tony drew out two of his legions, the second, "and thirty-fifth, and two prætorian cohorts; the "one his own, the other Silanus's with part of the "Evocati,† and came forward to us, imagining that "we had nothing but four legions of new levies. "But, in the night, to secure our march to the "camp, Hirtius had sent us the Martial legion, "which I used to command, and two prætorian

* Frontin. de Stratagem. l. 3. 13. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. x. 37. Dio, p. 315.

† The Evocati were a choice body of veteran soldiers, who after their dismission from service, being yet vigorous and fit for war, were invited to it again, as a sort of volunteers, by the consul or general, and distinguished from the rest by peculiar privileges.

" cohorts. As soon as Antony's horse appeared in " sight, neither the martial legion nor the prætorian cohorts could be restrained from attacking " them; so that when we could not hold them in, " we were obliged to follow them against our wills. " Antony kept his forces within Castel Franco:* " and, being unwilling to have it known that " he had his legions with him, shewed only his " horse and light-armed foot. When Pansa saw " the martial legion running forward against his " orders, he commanded two of the new raised " legions to follow him. As soon as we got through " the straits of the morass and the woods, we drew " up the twelve cohorts in order of battle. The " other two legions were not yet come up. Antony " immediately brought all his troops out of the " village, ranged likewise in order of battle, and, " without delay, engaged us. At first they fought " so briskly on both sides, that nothing could possibly be fiercer; though the right wing, in which " I was, with eight cohorts of the martial legion, " put Antony's thirty-fifth legion to flight at the " first onset, and pursued it above five hundred " paces from the place where the action began: " wherefore, observing the enemy's horse attempting to surround our wing, I began to retreat, and " ordered the light-armed troops to make head " against the Moorish horse, and prevent their " coming upon us behind. In the meanwhile, I " perceived myself in the midst of Antony's men, " and Antony himself but a little way behind me; " upon which, with my shield thrown over my " shoulder, I pushed on my horse with all speed " towards the new legion that was coming towards " us from the camp: and, whilst Antony's men " were pursuing me, and our's, by mistake, throw-

* Ad Forum Gallorum: now called Castel Franco, a small village on the Æmilian way, between Modena and Bologna. Cluver. Ital. Ant. l. 1. c. 28.

"ing javelins at me, I was preserved, I know not "how, by being presently known to our soldiers. "Cæsar's prætorian cohort sustained the fight a "long time on the Æmilian road: but our left "wing, which was the weaker, consisting of two "cohorts of the martial legion, and the prætorian "of Hirtius, began to give ground, being surrounded "by Antony's horse, in which he is very strong. "When all our ranks had made good their retreat, "I retreated myself the last to our camp. Antony, "as the conqueror, fancied that he could take it; "but upon trial, lost many of his men in the at- "tempt, without being able to do us any hurt. "Hirtius, in the meantime, hearing of the engage- "ment, marched out with twenty veteran cohorts, "and meeting Antony on his return, entirely routed "and put to flight his whole army, in the very "same place where they had fought before at Cas- "tel Franco. About ten at night, Antony regained "his camp at Modena, with all his horse. Hirtius "retired to that camp which Pansa had quitted in "the morning, and where he left the two legions, "which Antony attacked. Thus Antony has lost "the greater part of his veteran troops, yet, not "without some loss of our prætorian cohorts, and "the martial legion: we took two of Antony's ea- "gles, and sixty standards; and have gained a con- "siderable advantage."*

Besides this letter from Galba, there came letters also severally from the two consuls and Octavius; confirming the other account, with the addition of some farther particulars: that Pansa fighting bravely at the head of his troops, had received two dangerous wounds, and was carried off the field to Bologna: that Hirtius had scarce lost a single man: and that to animate his soldiers the better, he took up the eagle of the fourth legion, and carried it for-

* Ep. Fam. x. 30.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

ward himself: that Cæsar was left to the guard of their camp; where he was attacked likewise by another body of the enemy, whom he repulsed with great loss.* Antony reproached him, afterwards, with running away from this engagement in such a fright, that he did not appear again till two days after, and without his horse or general's habit: but the account just mentioned was given by Cicero, from letters, that were read to the senate, in which Hirtius declared him to have acted with the greatest courage.†

The news reached Rome on the twentieth of April, where it raised an incredible joy, and the greater we may imagine, for the late terrors, which they had suffered from contrary reports. The whole body of the people assembled presently about Cicero's house, and carried him in a kind of triumph to the capitol, whence, on their return, they placed him in the rostra, to give them an account of the victory; and then conducted him home with infinite acclamations: so that, in a letter upon it to Brutus, he says, that he reaped, on that day, the full fruit of all his toils, if there be any fruit in true and solid glory.‡

The day following the senate was summoned by Cornutus, the prætor, to deliberate on the letters of the consuls and Octavius: Servilius's opinion was, that the city should now quit the sagum, and take the common gown again; and that a public

* Cum—ipse in primis Pansa pugnaret, duobus periculosis vulneribus acceptis, sublatus e prælio. Philip. 14. 9.

Hirtius ipse, aquilam quartæ Legionis cum inferret, qua nullius pulchriorem speciem Imperatoris accepimus, cum tribus Antonii Legionibus, equitatuque conflixit, Ib. 10.

Cæsar—adolescens maximi animi, ut verissime scribit Hirtius, castra multarum Legionum paucis cohortibus tutaus est, secundumque prælium fecit. Ib. vid. App. l. 3. 571.

† Priore prælio Antonius eum fugisse scribit, ac sine paludamento equoque post biduum demum apparuisse. Sueton. Aug. x.

‡ Cum hesterno die me ovantem ac prope triumphantem populus Romanus in Capitolium domo tulerit? domum inde reduxerit. Philip. 14. 5.

Quo quidem die magnorum meorum laborum,—fructum cepi maximum; si modo est aliquis fructus ex solida veraque gloria, &c. Ad Brut. 3.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

thanksgiving should be decreed jointly to the honour of the consuls and Octavius. Cicero spoke next, and declared strongly against quitting the sagum, till D. Brutus was first delivered from the siege: that it would be ridiculous to put it off, till they should see him in safety, for whose sake they had put it on: that the motion for quitting it, flowed from envy to D. Brutus; to deprive him of the glory that it would be to his name, to have it delivered to posterity, that the people of Rome had put on the sagum for the danger, and resumed the gown for the preservation of one citizen: he advised them, therefore, to continue in their former mind, of thinking the whole danger and stress of the war to depend on D. Brutus; and though there was reason to hope, that he was already safe, or would shortly be so, yet they should reserve the fruit of that hope to fact and the event, lest they should be found too hasty in snatching the favour of the gods, or foolish in contemning the power of fortune.* Then, as to the decree of the thanksgiving, he urges Servilius with omitting two things in his vote, which ought necessarily to have accompanied it; the giving Antony the title of enemy, and their own generals of emperors. "The swords of our soldiers "are dyed," says he, "or rather moistened only, "as yet, with blood: if it was the blood of enemies, "it was an act of the utmost piety; if of citizens, "the most detestable wickedness: how long then "shall he, who has outdone all enemies in villany, "go without the name of enemy? he is now waging an inexpiable war with four consuls, with the "senate and people of Rome; denounces plagues, "devastation, the rack and tortures to us all: confesses that Dolabella's horrid act, which no barbarians would own, was done by his advice: declares what he would have done to this city, by

* Philip. 14. 1, 2.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

"the calamity of the people of Parma; honest and "excellent men, firm to the interests of the senate "and people: whom L. Antony, the portent and "disgrace of his species, put to death by all the "methods of cruelty."* That Hannibal was never so barbarous to any city, as Antony to Parma. He conjures them to remember how much they had all been terrified, for two days past, by villanous reports spread about the city; and were expecting, either a wretched death, or lamentable flight; and could they scruple to call those men enemies, from whom they feared such dreadful things? He then proposed to enlarge the number of days of the thanksgiving, since it was not to be decreed to one, but to three generals jointly: to whom, in the first place, he would give the title of emperors, since there had not been a supplication decreed without it for twenty years past: so that Servilius should not either have decreed it at all, or allowed the usual honour to those, to whom even new and unusual honours were due.† That if, according to the present custom, the title of emperor was commonly given, for killing a thousand or two of Spaniards, Gauls, or Thracians; how could they refuse it now, when so many legions were routed, and such a multitude slain? "For with what ho-"nours," says he, "and congratulations should our "deliverers themselves be received into this tem-"ple, when yesterday, on the account of what they "have done, the people of Rome carried me into "the capitol in a kind of triumph? for that, after "all, is a just and real triumph, when, by the gene-"ral voice of the city, a public testimony is given "to those who have deserved well of the common-"wealth. For if, in the common joy of the whole "city, they congratulated me singly, it is a great

* Philip. 3. † Ib. 4.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

"declaration of their judgment: if they thanked me, "still greater: if both, nothing can be imagined "more glorious." That he was forced to say so much of himself against his will, by the strange envy and injuries which he had lately suffered: that the insolence of the factious, as they all knew, had raised a report and suspicion upon him, of his aiming at a tyranny; though his whole life had been spent in defending the republic from it: as if he, who had destroyed Catiline, for that very crime, was of a sudden become a Catiline himself.* That if the report had found credit in the city, their design was, by a sudden assault upon his person, as upon a tyrant, to have taken away his life: that the thing itself was manifest, and the whole affair should be laid open in proper time. That he had said all this, not to purge himself to them, to whom he should be sorry to want an apology, but to admonish certain persons, of jejune and narrow minds, to look upon the virtue of excellent citizens, as the object of their imitation, not of their envy: since the republic was a wide field, where the course of glory was open to many:† that if any man contested with him the first place in the government, he acted foolishly, if he meant to do it by opposing vice to virtue: that as the race was gained by running the fastest, so virtue was only to be conquered by a superior virtue: that they could never get the better of him by bad votes; by good ones, perhaps, they might, and he himself should be glad of it: that the people of Rome were perpetually inquiring, how men of their rank voted and acted, and formed their judgment of them accordingly: that they all remembered how in December last, he was the author of the first step towards recovering their liberty: how, from the first of January, he had been continually watching over the safety of the commonwealth:

* Philip. 5. † Ib. 6.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

how his house and his ears were open day and night to the advices and informations of all who came to him: how his opinion always was against an embassy to Antony: how he had always voted him an enemy, and their present state a war: but as oft as he mentioned an enemy or a war, the consuls had always dropped his motion, from the number of those that were proposed;* which could not, however, be done in the present case, because he, who had already voted a thanksgiving, had unwarily voted Antony an enemy; since a thanksgiving had never been decreed but against enemies, and never asked or granted in what was properly a civil war: that they should either have denied it, or must of course decree those to be enemies, for whose defeat it was granted. Then, after flourishing on the particular merit of the three generals, Pansa, Hirtius, Octavius, and shewing how well they had each deserved the name of emperor, he decrees a thanksgiving of fifty days in the name of the three jointly.† In the last place, he proceeds to speak of the rewards due to the soldiers, and especially of the honours to be paid to those who had lost their lives in the defence of their country. For these he proposes a splendid monument to be erected in common to them all, at the public charge, with their names and services inscribed; and, in recommending it, breaks out into a kind of funeral eulogium upon them:—"Oh "happy death," says he, "which, when due to na- "ture, was paid to your country! for I cannot but "look upon you as born for your country! whose "name is even derived from Mars; as if the same "God, who gave birth to this city, for the good of "nations, had given birth also to you, for the good "of this city. Death in flight is scandalous; in "victory glorious; wherefore, whilst those impious "wretches, whom you slew, will suffer the punish-

* Philip. 7. † Ib. 8, 9, 10, 11.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

"ment of their parricide in the infernal regions, "you who breathed your last in victory, have ob- "tained the place and seat of the pious. The life "given to us by nature is short, but the memory of "a life well spent everlasting; if it were not longer "than this life, who would be so mad, at the ex- "pense of the greatest pains and dangers, to contend "for the prize of glory? your lot, therefore, is happy, "O you, while you lived, the bravest, now the holi- "est of soldiers; for the fame of your virtue can "never be lost, either by the forgetfulness of those "who are now alive, or the silence of those who "shall come hereafter; since the senate and people "of Rome have raised to you, as it were, with their "own hands, an immortal monument. There have "been many great and famous armies in the Punic, "Gallic, Italic wars; yet no such honour was ever "done to any of them. I wish that we could still "do greater, since you have done the greatest ser- "vices to us; you drove Antony, mad with rage, "from the city; you repulsed him when he at- "tempted to return: a fabric, therefore, shall be "erected, or magnificent work, and letters engraved "upon it, the eternal witnesses of your Divine vir- "tue; nor will those who see or hear of your monu- "ment ever cease talking of you: so that, instead "of this frail and mortal condition of life, you have "now acquired an immortality."* He then re- news their former assurances to the old legions, of the full and punctual payment of all which had been promised to them, as soon as the war should be over: and for those, in the meantime, who had lost their lives for their country, he proposes that the same rewards which would have been given to them, if they had lived, should be given immediately to their parents, children, wives, or brothers. All which he includes, as usual, in the form of a decree, which was ratified by the senate.

* Philip. 12.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Vibius Pansa. A. Hirtius.

Antony, being cruelly mortified by this defeat, kept himself close within his camp; and resolved to hazard nothing farther, but to act only on the defensive, except by harassing the enemy with his horse, in which he was far superior. He still hoped to make himself master of Modena, which was reduced to extremity, and, by the strength of his works, to prevent their throwing any relief into it. Hirtius and Octavius, on the other hand, elate with victory, were determined, at all hazards, to relieve it: and, after two or three days spent in finding the most likely place of breaking through the intrenchments, they made their attack with such vigour, that Antony, rather than suffer the town to be snatched at last out of his hands, chose to draw out his legions, and come to a general battle. The fight was bloody and obstinate; and Antony's men, though obliged to give ground, bravely disputed every inch of it, till D. Brutus, taking the opportunity, at the same time, to sally out of the town, at the head of his garrison, helped greatly to determine and complete the victory. Hirtius pushed his advantage with great spirit, and forced his way into Antony's camp; but, when he had gained the middle of it, was unfortunately killed near the general's tent: Pontius Aquila, one of the conspirators, was killed likewise in the same place: but Octavius, who followed to support them, made good their attempt, and kept possession of the camp, with the entire defeat and destruction of Antony's best troops: while Antony himself, with all his horse, fled with great precipitation towards the Alps. Some writers give a different relation of this action, but, from the facts and circumstances of it, delivered by Cicero, this appears to be the genuine account. The consul Pansa died the day following, of his wounds, at Bologna.*

* Cum alia laudo, et gaudeo accidisse, tum quod Bruti eruptio non solum ipsi salutaris fuit, sed etiam maximo ad victoriam adjumento. Ad Brut 4.

Ibi Hirtium quoque periisse et Pontium Aquilam, &c. Ep. Fam. x. 33. vid. it. Ep. Fam. xi. 13. et App. l. 3. p. 372.

SECTION XI.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

THE entire defeat of Antony's army made all people presently imagine that the war was at an end, and the liberty of Rome established: which would, probably, have been the case, if Antony had either perished in the action, or the consuls survived it: but the death of the consuls, though not felt so sensibly at first, in the midst of their joy for the victory, gave the fatal blow to all Cicero's schemes; and was the immediate cause of the ruin of the republic.* Hirtius was a man of letters and politeness; intimately entrusted with Cæsar's counsels, and employed to write his acts; but as he was the proper creature of Cæsar, and strongly infected with party, so his views were all bent on supporting the power that had raised him, and serving his patron, not the public. In the beginning, therefore, of the civil war, when he was tribune of the people, he published a law, to exclude all, who were in arms with Pompey, from any employment or office in the state:† which made him particularly obnoxious to the Pompeians, who considered him as their most inveterate enemy. Pansa, whose father had been proscribed by Sylla,‡ was attached with equal zeal to Cæsar, as to the head and reviver of the Marian cause, and served him in all his wars, with singular affection and fidelity: he was a grave, sincere, and worthy man; and being naturally more moderate and benevolent than Hirtius, was touched with the ruin of his country, and the miseries of the oppressed Pompeians: many of whom he relieved by

* Hirtium quidem et Pansam—In Consulatu Reip. salutares, alieno sane tempore amisimus. Ep. Fam. 12. 25.

Pansa amisso, quantum detrimenti Respub. acceperit, non te præterit. Ep. Fam. xi. 9. Quanto sit in periculo Respub. quam potero brevissime exponam. Primum omnium, quantam perturbationem rerum urbanarum afferat obitus Consulum, &c. Ib. x.

† Neminem Pompeianum qui vivat tenere lege Hirtia dignitates. Philip. 13. 16.

‡ Dio, l. 45. 278.

his humanity, and restored, by his interest, to the city and their estates.* This made him very popular, and gained him the esteem of all the honest; so that Cassius, in defending his Epicureanism to Cicero, alleges Pansa as an example of those genuine Epicureans, who placed their pleasure or chief good in virtuous acts.† Before their entrance into the consulship, Quintus Cicero gave a most wretched account of them both, as of a lewd, luxurious pair; not fit to be trusted with the command of a paltry town, much less of the empire; and says, that if they were not removed from the helm, the republic would certainly be lost; since Antony would easily draw them into a partnership of his crimes: for, when he served with them in Gaul, he "had seen "incredible instances of their effeminacy and de- "bauchery, in the face even of the enemy."‡ But we must charge a great part of this character to the peevishness and envy of Quintus; for, whatever they had been before, they were certainly good consuls; and, out of their affection to Cicero, and regard to his authority, governed themselves, generally, in all great affairs by his maxims. They were persuaded, that the design of revenging Cæsar's death would throw the republic again into convulsions, and flowed from no other motive than the ambition of possessing Cæsar's place; and resolved, therefore, to quell, by open force, all attempts against the public peace. From their long adherence to Cæsar, they retained, indeed, some prejudices in favour of that party, and were loth to proceed to extremities, till pacific measures were found ineffectual. This gave Cicero some reason to blame, but

* Pansa, gravis homo et certus. Ep. Fam. 6. 12.

Quod multos miseriis levavit, et quod se in his malis hominem præbuit, mirabilis cum virorum bonorum benevolentia prosecuta est. Ep. Fam. 15. 17.

† Itaque et Pansa, qui ἡδονὴν sequitur, virtutem retinet, &c. Ib. 19.

‡ Quos ego penitus novi libidinum et languoris effeminatissimi animi plenos: qui nisi a gubernaculis recesserint, maximum ab uni verso naufragio periculum est, &c. Ep. Fam. 16. 27.

never to distrust them; to complain of their phlegm and want of vigour, as detrimental to the common cause: yet, while they were generally suspected by others, he always thought them sincere, though they did not, in all cases, act up to his wishes. The event confirmed his judgment of them; for they both not only exposed, but lost their lives, with the greatest courage, in the defence of the republic, and shewed themselves to be the very men which Cicero had constantly affirmed them to be; and though he imputes some little blame to Hirtius, yet of Pansa he declares, that he wanted neither courage from the first, nor fidelity to the last.*

If they had lived to reap the fruits of their victory, their power and authority would have been sufficient to restrain Octavius within the bounds of his duty, and sustain the tottering republic, till Brutus and Cassius could arrive to their assistance, and Plancus and D. Brutus unite themselves in the same cause, and give it a firm establishment in their consulship in the next year; all whose armies, together with the African legions, were far superior to any force that could have been brought against them. But the death of the two consuls placed Octavius at once above control, by leaving him master of both their armies, especially of all the veterans, who were disaffected to D. Brutus, and could not be induced to follow him; and it fell out so lucky and apposite to all Octavius's views, as to give birth to a general persuasion, that they had received foul play, and

* Quales tibi sæpe scripsi Consules, tales extiterunt. [Ad Brut. 3.] erat in Senatu satis vehemens et acer Pansa; cum in cæteros hujus generis, tum maxime in socerum: cui Consuli non animus ab initio, non fides ad extremum defuit. Bellum ad Mutinam gerebatur; nihil ut in Cæsare reprehenderes, nonnulla in Hirtio. Ib. 10.

N. B.—Several medals were struck by the senate, on the occasion of this victory, particularly one in honour of Pansa, exhibiting the head of the Goddess Liberty crowned with laurel, and the inscription, LIBERTATIS, and on the reverse, Rome sitting upon the spoils of enemies, holding a spear in her right hand, and a dagger in her left, with her foot upon the globe, and Victory flying towards her, to crown her with laurel; and the inscription, C. PANSA. C. F. C. N. See Morel, Fam. Rom.

were both of them killed by his contrivance: for he was observed to be the first man who took up Hirtius's body in the camp, where some imagined him to have been killed by his own soldiers; and Pansa's physician, Glyco, was actually thrown into prison, by Torquatus, Pansa's quæstor, upon a suspicion of having poisoned his wounds.* But the chief ground of that notion seems to have lain in the fortunate coincidence of the fact with the interests of Octavius: for M. Brutus thought it incredible, and, in the most pressing manner, begged of Cicero to procure Glyco's enlargement, and protect him from any harm, as being a worthy, modest man, incapable of such a villany, and who, of all others, suffered the greatest loss by Pansa's death.†

Cicero was soon aware of the dangerous turn which this event was likely to give to their affairs; and, within a day or two after the news, intimates his apprehension of it to Brutus: "Young Cæsar," says he, "has a wonderful disposition to virtue; I "wish that I may govern him as easily, in all this "height of honour and power, as I have hitherto "done: the thing is now much harder; yet I do not "despair of it; for the youth is persuaded, and "chiefly by me, that we owe our present safety to "him: and, in truth, if he had not at first driven An"tony from the city, all had been lost."‡ But as he found Octavius grow daily more and more untractable, so he began to exhort and implore Brutus, in every letter, to bring his army into Italy, as the only

* Rumor increbuit, ambos opera ejus occisos: ut Antonio fugato, Repub. Consulibus orbata, solus victores exercitus occuparet. Pansæ quidem adeo suspecta mors fuit, ut Glyco medicus custoditus sit, quasi venenum vulneri indidisset. Sueton. Aug. xi. Dio, l. 46. 317. App. p. 572.

† Tibi Glycona medicum Pansæ—diligentissime commendo; audimus eum venisse in suspicionem Torquato de morte Pansæ, custodirique ut parricidam. Nihil minus credendum, &c. Rogo te, et quidem valde rogo, eripias eum ex custodia. Ad Brut. 6.

‡ Cæsaris vero pueri mirifica indoles virtutis. Utinam tam facile eum florentem et honoribus et gratia regere ac tenere possimus, ut adhuc tenuimus! est omnino illud difficilius: sed non diffidimus. Persuasum est enim adolescenti, et maxime per me, ejus opera nos esse salvos: et certe, nisi is Antonium ab urbe avertisset, periissent omnia. Ad Brut. x.

thing which could save them in their present circumstances: and, to enforce his own authority, he procured a vote also of the senate, to call him home, with his legions, to the defence of the republic.*

At Rome, however, the general rejoicings stifled all present attention to the loss of their consuls; and Antony's friends were so dejected, for some time, that they gave Cicero no more opposition in the senate: where he poured out all imaginable honours on the deceased, Hirtius, Pansa, and Aquila; decreed an ovation to Cæsar, and added a number of days to their thanksgiving, in honour of D. Brutus; whose deliverance happening to fall upon his birth-day, he decreed, likewise, that his name should be ascribed ever after to that day, in the fasti, or public kalendars, for a perpetual memorial of the victory. Antony's adherents were also declared enemies: in which number Servilius himself included Ventidius; and moved to give Cassius the command of the war against Dolabella; to whom Cicero joined Brutus, in case that he should find it useful to the republic.†

The decree of an ovation to Octavius was blamed by Brutus and his friends;‡ yet seems to have been wisely and artfully designed: for, while it carried an appearance of honour, it would regularly have stripped him of his power, if he had made use of it: since his commission was to expire of course, and his army to be dissolved, upon his first entrance into the city: but the confusion of the times made laws and customs of little effect with those who had the power to dispense with them.

The commanders abroad were so struck with

* Te, cognita Senatus auctoritate, in Italiam adducere exercitum: quod ut faceres, idque maturares, magnopere desiderabat Respublica. Ad Brut. x.

† A. d. v. Kalend. Maias cum de iis, qui hostes judicati sunt, bello persequendis, sententiæ dicerentur, dixit Servilius etiam de Ventidio, et ut Cassius persequeretur Dolabellam. Cui cum essem assensus, decrevi hoc amplius, ut tu, si arbitrarere utile—perquerere bello Dolabellam, &c. Ad Brut. 5. it. 15.

‡ Suspicor illud minus tibi probari, quod ab tuis familiaribus—non probatur, quod ut ovanti introire Cæsari liceret, decreverim. Ad Brut. 15.

Antony's defeat, that they redoubled their assurances to Cicero of their firmness and zeal for the common cause. Lepidus especially, who had suffered two of his lieutenants, Silanus and Culleo, to carry succours to Antony, at Modena, labours to excuse it in a civil and humble strain, and to persuade Cicero, that they had done it against his orders; and though, for their former relation to him, he was unwilling to punish them with the last severity, yet he had not since employed them, or received them even into his camp. He acquaints him that Antony was arrived in his province with one legion, and a great multitude of men unarmed, but with all his horse, which was very strong; and that Ventidius had joined him with three legions: that he was marching out against him with all his forces, and that many of Antony's horse and foot daily deserted him. That, for himself, he would never be wanting in his duty to the senate and the republic: thanks him for not giving credit to the false reports which were spread of him, and above all for the late honours that he had decreed to him: begs him to expect every thing from him which could be expected from an honest man, and to take him under his special protection.*

Pollio, still more explicitly: that there was no time now for loitering, or expecting the orders of the senate: that all who wished to preserve the empire, and the very name of the Roman people, ought to lend their present help: that nothing was more dangerous, than to give Antony leisure to recollect himself: that, for his part, he would neither desert nor survive the republic; was grieved only for his being at such a distance, that he could not come so soon as he wished to its relief, &c.†

Plancus sent word, that he was taking all possible care to oppress Antony, if he came into that coun-

* Ep. Fam. x. 34. † Ib. 33.

try. That if he came without any considerable body of troops, he should be able to give a good account of him, though he should be received by Lepidus; or, if he brought any force with him, would undertake that he should do no harm in those parts, till they could send him succours sufficient to destroy him: that he was then in a treaty with Lepidus, about uniting their forces in the same cause, by the mediation of Laterensis and Furnius; nor would be hindered, by his private quarrel to the man, from concurring with his greatest enemy in the service of the commonwealth.* In another letter, he speaks with great contempt of Antony's shattered forces, though joined with those of Ventidius, the mule-driver as he calls him; and is confident, that, if he could have met with them, they would not have stood an hour before him.†

The conquerors, at Modena, were much censured in the meantime for giving Antony leisure to escape; but Octavius, from the beginning, had no thoughts of pursuing him: he had already gained what he aimed at; had reduced Antony's power so low, and raised his own so high, as to be in condition to make his own terms with him in the partition of the empire, of which he seems to have formed the plan from this moment; whereas, if Antony had been wholly destroyed, together with the consuls, the republican party would have probably been too strong for him and Lepidus; who, though master of a good army, was certainly a weak general:‡ when he was pressed, therefore, to pursue Antony, he contrived still to delay it till it was too late; taking himself to be more usefully employed in securing to his interests the troops of the consuls.

* Ep. Fam. 11.

† Mihi enim si contigisset, ut prior occurrerem Antonio, non mehercules horam constitisset: tantum ego et mihi confido, et sic perculsas illius copias, Ventidiique mulionis castra despicio. Ib. 18.

‡ Cum et Lepido omnes imperatores forent meliores, et multis Antonius, dum erat sobrius. Vell. Pat. 2. 63.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64.

Cicero was particularly disgusted at Antony's escape, and often expostulates upon it with D. Brutus; he tells him, that if Antony should ever recover strength again, all his great services to the republic would come to nothing. "It was reported," says he, "at Rome, and all people believed it, that he was "fled with a few unarmed, dispirited men, and himself almost broken-hearted; but if it be so with "him, as I hear it is, that you cannot fight him again "without danger, he does not seem to have fled from "Modena, but to have changed only the seat of the "war. Wherefore, men are now quite different "from what they were; some even complain that "you did not pursue him; and think that he might "have been destroyed if diligence had been used: "such is the temper of people, and above all of "our's, to abuse their liberty against those by whom "they obtained it: it is your part, however, to take "care that there be no real ground of complaint. "The truth of the case is, he who oppresses Antony "puts an end to the war. What the force of that "is, it is better for you to consider, than for me to 'write more explicitly."*

D. Brutus, in his answer, gives him the reasons, why he could not follow Antony so soon as he wished: "I had no horse," says he, "no carriages; "did not know that Hirtius was killed; had no "confidence in Cæsar before I met and talked with "him: thus the first day passed. The next morning early I was sent for by Pansa to Bologna; "but, on the road, met with an account of his death: "I ran back to my little army, for so I may truly "call it: it is extremely reduced, and in sad condition for want of all things: so that Antony "gained two days of me, and made much greater "journeys in flying, than I could in pursuing; for "his troops went straggling, mine in order. Wher-

* Ep. Fam. xi. 12.

" ever he passed he opened all the prisons, carried " away the men, and stopped no where, till he came "to the Fords. This place lies between the Appen- " nine and the Alps; a most difficult country to " march through: when I was thirty miles from " him, and Ventidius had already joined him, a " copy of his speech was brought to me, in which " he begs of his soldiers to follow him across the " Alps; and declares, that he acted in concert with " Lepidus: but the soldiers cried out, especially " those of Ventidius, for he has very few of his own, " that they would either conquer or perish in Italy; " and began to beg, that he would go to Pollentia: " when he could not over-rule them, he put off his " march to the next day. Upon this intelligence, " I presently sent five cohorts before me to Pollentia, " and followed them myself with the army: my " detachment came to the place an hour before " Trebellius, with Antony's horse; this gave me an " exceeding joy; for I esteem it equal to a vic- " tory," * &c.

In another letter he says, that if Cæsar would have been persuaded by him to cross the Appennine, he could have reduced Antony to such straits, that he must have been destroyed by want, rather than the sword; but that they could neither command Cæsar, nor Cæsar his own troops; both which circumstances were very bad,† &c. This authentic account from D. Brutus confutes two facts, which are delivered by an old historian, and generally received by all the moderns: first, that Octavius, after the victory, refused to have any conference with D. Brutus; and that Brutus, for that reason, forbade him to enter his province, or to pursue

* Ep. Fam. 13.

† Quod si me Cæsar audisset, atque Apenninum transisset, in tantas angustias Antonium compulissem, ut inopia potius quam ferro conficeretur. Sed neque Cæsari imperari potest, nec Cæsar exercitui suo: quod utrumque pessimum est. Ib. x.

Antony: secondly, that Pansa, in his last moments, sent for Octavius, and advised him to an union with Antony, against the senate.* For it is evident, that, on the very day of the victory, there was actually a conference between the two first; which passed in so amicable a manner, as to ease Brutus of the jealousy which he had before conceived of Octavius: and Pansa's death happened so early the next morning, that it left no room for the pretended advice and speech, which is made for him to Octavius: especially since it appears, on the contrary, that, instead of Octavius, Pansa really sent for D. Brutus, when he found himself dying, as if disposed rather to communicate something for the service of that cause, in which he had lost his life. But both the stories were, undoubtedly, forged afterwards, to save Octavius's honour, and give a better colour to that sudden change of measures, which, from this hour, he was determined to pursue.†

C. Antony was still a prisoner with M. Brutus, whose indulgence gave him an opportunity of practising upon the soldiers, and raising a sedition in the camp, which created no small trouble to Brutus. The soldiers, however, soon repented of their rashness, and killed the authors of it; and would have killed Antony too, if Brutus would have delivered him into their hands: but he could not be induced to take his life, though this was the second offence of the same kind: but, pretending that he would order him to be thrown into the sea, sent him to be

* Vid. Appian. l. 3. p. 573. St. Hist. Rom. par Catrou et Rouille. T. 17. l. 46. p. 483, &c.

† There is an original medal still remaining, that gives no small confirmation to this notion; and was struck, probably, at Rome, either by Pansa himself, upon his marching out towards Modena, or by the senate soon after Pansa's death, in testimony of the strict union that subsisted between him and D. Brutus Albinus. For on the one side there is the head of a Silenus, as it is called, or rather of Pan, which is frequent on Pansa's coins, with the inscription also of his name, C. PANSA: and on the other, ALBINVS. BRVTI. F. with two right hands joined, holding a Caduceus, as an emblem of the strictest amity and concord. See Famil. Vibia. in Vaillant or Morel.

secured on ship board, either from doing or suffering any farther mischief:* of which he wrote an account to Cicero, who returned the following answer:

"As to the sedition in the fourth legion, about "C. Antony, you will take what I say in good "part; I am better pleased with the severity of the "soldiers, than with your's. I am extremely glad "that you have had a trial of the affection of your "legions, and the horse: as to what you write, "that I am pursuing the Antonys much at my ease, "and praise me for it, I suppose you really think "so: but I do not, by any means, approve your "distinction, when you say, that our animosity "ought to be exerted rather in preventing civil "wars, than in revenging ourselves on the van-"quished. I differ widely from you, Brutus; not "that I yield to you in clemency; but a salutary "severity is always preferable to a specious shew of "mercy. If we are so fond of pardoning, there will "be no end of civil wars: but you are to look to "that; for I can say of myself, what Plautus's old "man says in the Trinummus—life is almost over "with me; it is you who are the most interested in "it. You will be undone, Brutus, believe me, if "you do not take care: for you will not always "have the people, nor the senate, nor a leader of "the senate, the same as now. Take this, as from "the Pythian oracle; nothing can be more true."†

Brutus's wife, Porcia, notwithstanding the tragical story, which the old writers have dressed up, of the manner of her killing herself upon the news of her husband's unhappy fate,‡ died, most probably, about this time at Rome, of a lingering illness. She seems to have been in a bad state of health when Brutus left Italy; where she is said to have parted

* Dio, l. 47. p. 340. † Ad Brut. 2.

‡ App. l. iv. 669. Dio, l. 47. 356. Val. Max. 4. 6.

from him with the utmost grief and floods of tears, as if conscious that she was taking her last leave of him: and Plutarch says, that there was a letter of Brutus, extant in his days, if it was genuine, in which he lamented her death, and complained of his friends for neglecting her in her last sickness: this, however, is certain, that in a letter to Atticus, he gives a hint of Porcia's indisposition, with a slight compliment to Atticus for his care of her:* and the following letter of condolence to him from Cicero, can hardly be applied to any other occasion, but that of her death.

"CICERO TO BRUTUS.

"I SHOULD perform the same office which you "formerly did in my loss, of comforting you by let- "ter, did I not know, that you cannot want those "remedies in your grief, with which you relieved "mine. I wish only, that you may now cure yourself "more easily, than at that time you cured me: for "it would be strange, in so great a man as you, not "to be able to practise, what he had prescribed to "another. As for me, not only the reasons, which "you then collected, but your very authority de- "terred me from indulging my sorrow to excess. "For when you thought me to behave myself with "greater softness than became a man; especially "one, who used to comfort others, you chid me with "more severity than it was usual for you to express; "so that, out of a reverence to your judgment, I "roused myself; and, by the accession of your au- "thority, took every thing that I had learnt or read, "or heard on that subject, to have the greater "weight. Yet, my part, Brutus, at that time, was "only to act agreeably to duty and to nature; but "your's, as we say, is to be acted on the stage, and

* Valetudinem Porciæ meæ tibi curæ esse, non miror. Ad Brut. 17.

"before the people. For when the eyes, not only of "your army, but of all the city, nay, of all the world, "are upon you, it is wholly indecent for one, by "whom we other mortals are made the stouter, to "betray any dejection or want of courage. You "have suffered, indeed, a great loss (for you have "lost that, which has not left its fellow on earth); "and must be allowed to grieve under so cruel a "blow; lest to want all sense of grief should be "thought more wretched than grief itself; but to do "it with moderation, is both useful to others, and "necessary to yourself. I would write more, if "this was not already too much: we expect you "and your army: without which, though all other "things succeed to our wishes, we shall hardly "ever be free."*

As the time of choosing magistrates now drew on, and particularly of filling up the colleges of priests, in which there were many vacancies, so Brutus was sending home many of his young nobles to appear as candidates at the election; the two Bibuluses, Domitius, Cato, Lentulus; whom he severally recommends to Cicero's protection. Cicero was desirous, that his son also should come with them to be elected a priest; and wrote to Brutus, to know his mind about it; and, if he thought proper, to send him away immediately; for though he might be chosen in absence, yet his success would be much easier, if he was present.† He touches this little affair in several of his letters; but, finding the public disorders increase still every day, he procured the election of priests to be thrown off to the next year: and Brutus having sent him word, in the meanwhile, that his son had actually left him, and was coming towards Rome, he instantly dispatched a messenger, to meet him on the road, with orders

* Ad Brut. 9.

† Sed quamvis liceat absentis rationem haberi, tamen omnia sunt præsentibus faciliora. Ib. 5.

to send him back again, though he found him landed in Italy: since nothing, he says, could be more agreeable either to himself, or more honourable to his son, than his continuance with Brutus.*

Not long after the battle of Modena, the news of Dolabella's defeat and death, from Asia, brought a fresh occasion of joy to Cicero, and his friends at Rome. Dolabella, after his success against Trebonius, having pillaged that province of its money, and of all things useful for war, marched forward to execute his grand design upon Syria, for which he had been making all this preparation: but Cassius was beforehand with him, and having got possession of that country, and of all the armies in it, was much superior to him in force. Dolabella, however, made his way with some success through Cilicia, and came before Antioch in Syria, but was denied admittance into it; and, after some vain attempts to take it, being repulsed with loss, marched to Laodicea; which had before invited, and now opened its gates to him. Here Cassius came up with him, and presently invested the place; where, after he had destroyed Dolabella's fleet, in two or three naval engagements, he shut him up closely by sea as well as land; till Dolabella, seeing no way to escape, and the town unable to hold out any longer, killed himself, to prevent his falling alive into Cassius's hands, and suffering the same treatment which he had shewn to Trebonius: but Cassius generously ordered his body to be buried, with that of his lieutenant Octavius, who killed himself also with him.†

D. Brutus was now at last pursuing Antony, or rather observing the motions of his flight: he had

* Ego autem, cum ad me de Ciceronis abs te discessu scripsisses, statim extrusi tabellarios, litterasque ad Ciceronem; ut etiam si in Italiam venisset, ad te rediret. Nihil enim mihi jucundius, illi honestius. Quamquam aliquoties ei scripseram, Sacerdotum comitia, mea summa contentione in alterum annum esse rejecta, &c. Ad Brut. 14. vid. it. 5, 6, 7.

† Ep. Fam. 12, 13. 15. App. l. 4. 625. Dio, l. 47. 344.

with him, besides his own forces, the new legions of the late consuls, while all the veterans put themselves under the command of Octavius: so that, after Antony was joined by Ventidius, with three legions, Brutus was hardly strong enough either to fight with him, or, what he rather aimed at, to hinder his crossing the Alps to Lepidus. He desired Cicero, therefore, to write to Lepidus, not to receive him, though he was sure, he says, that Lepidus would never do any thing that was right; and wishes, likewise, that Cicero would confirm Plancus; since, by some of Antony's papers, which fell into his hands, he perceived that Antony had not lost all hopes of him, and thought himself sure of Lepidus and Pollio: of which he gave Plancus immediate notice, and signified that he was coming forward with all expedition to join with him.* But he complains much, in all his letters, of his want of money and the sad condition of his army, which was not contemptible for the number, but the kind of his troops; being, for the most part, new-raised men, bare, and needy of all things.† "I cannot," says he, "maintain my "soldiers any longer. When I first undertook to "free the republic, I had above three hundred thou-"sand pounds of my own, in money; but am now "so far from having any thing, that I have involved "all my friends in debt for me. I have seven legions "to provide for:—consider with what difficulty. "Had I the treasures of Varro, I could not support "the expense."‡ He desired, therefore, a present

* In primis rogo te, ad hominem ventosissimum Lepidum mittas, ne bellum nobis redintegrare possit, Antonio sibi conjuncto.—Mihi persuasissimum est, Lepidum recte facturum nunquam—Plancum quoque confirmetis, oro; quem spero, pulso Antonio, Reipub. non defuturum. Ep. Fam. xi. 9.

Antonius ad Lepidum proficiscitur, ne de Planco quidem spem adhuc abjecit, ut ex libellis suis animadverti, qui in me inciderunt. Ib. 11.

† Cum sim cum tironibus egentissimis. Ib. 19.

‡ Alere jam milites non possum. Cum ad Rempub. liberandam accessi. H. S. mihi fuit pecuniæ c c c c amplius. Tantum abest ut meæ rei familiaris liberum sit quidquam, ut omnes jam meos amicos ære alieno obstrinxerim. Septenum numerum nunc legionum alo, qua difficultate, tu arbitrare. Non, si Varronis thesauros haberem, subsistere sumptui possem. Ib. 10.

supply of money, and some veteran legions, especially the fourth and martial, which continued still with Octavius. This was decreed to him readily by the senate, at the motion of Drusus and Paullus, Lepidus's brother:* but Cicero wrote him word, that all who knew those legions the best, affirmed, that they would not be induced, by any terms, to serve under him: that money, however, should certainly be provided for him: and concludes by observing, that if Lepidus should receive Antony, it would throw them again into great difficulties; but that it was Brutus's part to take care that they should have no cause to fear the event: for, as to himself, that he could not possibly do more than he had already done, but wished to see D. Brutus the greatest and most illustrious of men.†

Plancus, as it is hinted above, was carrying on a negotiation with Lepidus, to unite their forces against Antony: it was managed, on Plancus's side, by Furnius; on Lepidus's by Laterensis, one of his lieutenants, a true friend to the republic, and zealous to engage his general to its interests; and Lepidus himself dissembled so well, as to persuade them of his sincerity: so that Plancus was marching forward, in great haste, to join with him, of which he gave Cicero a particular account.

"PLANCUS TO CICERO.

"AFTER I had written my letters, I thought it of "service to the public, that you should be informed "of what has since happened. My diligence, I "hope, has been of use both to myself and to the "commonwealth: for I have been treating with Le- "pidus, by perpetual messages; that, laying aside

* Ep. Fam. xi. 19.

† Legionem Martiam et quartam negant, qui *illas norunt* ulla conditione ad te posse perduci. Pecuniæ, quam desideras, ratio potest haberi, eaque habebitur—ego plus quam feci, facere non possum. Te tamen, id quod spero, omnium maximum et clarissimum videre cupio. Ib. 14.

"all former quarrels, he would be reconciled, and "succour the republic in common with me, and "shew more regard to himself, his children, and "the city, than to a desperate abandoned robber; "in which case, he might depend on my service "and assistance for all occasions: I transacted "the affair by Laterensis. He pawned his faith, "that, if he could not keep Antony out of his pro-"vince, he would pursue him by open war: begged "that I would come and join forces with him; and, "so much the more, because Antony was said "to be strong in horse, whereas Lepidus's could "hardly be called indifferent: for, not many days "before, even out of his small number, ten, who were "reckoned his best, came over to me. As soon as "I was informed of this, I resolved, without delay, "to support Lepidus in the execution of his good "intentions. I saw of what benefit my joining him "would be, either for pursuing and destroying An-"tony's horse with mine, or for correcting and re-"straining, by the presence of my army, the corrupt "and disaffected part of Lepidus's. Having made "a bridge, therefore, in one day, over the Isere, a "very great river, in the territory of the Allo-"broges, I passed, with my army, on the twelfth of "May: but, having been informed that L. Antony "was sent before, with some horse and cohorts, to "Forum Julii, I had sent my brother, the day be-"fore, with four thousand horse, to meet with him, "intending to follow myself, by great journies, with "four legions, and the rest of my horse, without "the heavy baggage. If we have any tolerable for-"tune for the republic, we shall here put an end to "the audaciousness of the desperate, and to all our "own trouble: but if the robber, upon hearing of "my arrival, should run back again into Italy, it "will be Brutus's part to meet with him there: who "will not be wanting, I know, either in counsel or "courage: but if that should happen, I will send

"my brother also with the horse, to follow and pre-
"serve Italy from being ravaged by him. Take
"care of your health, and love me as I love you."*

But Lepidus was acting, all the while, a treacherous part, being determined, at all hazards, to support Antony; and though he kept him at a distance for some time, and seemed to be constrained, at last, by his own soldiers, to receive him; yet, that was only to save appearances, till he could do it with advantage and security to them both: his view in treating with Plancus was, probably, to amuse and draw him so near to them, that when he and Antony were actually joined, they might force him into the same measures, without his being able to help it, or to retreat from them. When he was upon the point, therefore, of joining camps with Antony, he sent word to Plancus, who was within forty miles of him, to stay where he then was, till he should come up to him: but Plancus, suspecting nothing, thought it better still to march on; till Laterensis, perceiving how things were turning, wrote him word in all haste, that neither Lepidus nor his army were to be trusted; and that he himself was deserted; exhorting Plancus to look to himself, lest he should be drawn into a snare, and to perform his duty to the republic; for that he had discharged his faith, by giving him this warning,† &c.

Plancus gave Cicero a particular account of all these transactions: he acquaints him, that Lepidus and Antony joined their camps on the twenty-eighth of May, and the same day marched forward towards him: of all which he knew nothing, till they were come within twenty miles of him: that, upon the first intelligence of it, he retreated in all haste, re-

* Ep. x. 15.

† Ad Laterensis, vir sanctissimus, suo chirographo mittit mihi litteras, in eisque desperans de se, de exercitu, de Lepidi fide, querensque se destitutum; in quibus aperte denuntiat, videam ne fallar; suam fidem solutam esse, Reipub. ne. desim. Ib. 21.

passed the Isere, and broke down the bridges, which he had built upon it, that he might have leisure to draw all his forces together, and join them with his colleague, D. Brutus, whom he expected in three days: that Laterensis, whose singular faculty he should ever acknowledge, when he found himself duped by Lepidus, laid violent hands upon himself; but, being interrupted in the act, was thought likely to live: he desires, that Octavius might be sent to him with his forces; or if he could not come in person, that his army, however, might be sent, since his interest was so much concerned in it: that, as the whole body of the rebels was now drawn into one camp, they ought to act against them with the whole force of the republic,* &c.

The day after his union with Antony, Lepidus wrote a short letter to the senate, wherein he calls the gods and men to witness, that he had nothing so much at heart as the public safety and liberty; of which he should shortly have given them proofs had not fortune prevented him; for that his soldiers, by a general mutiny and sedition, had plainly forced him to take so great a multitude of citizens under his protection. He beseeches them, that, laying aside all their private grudges, they would consult the good of the whole republic; nor, in a time of civil dissension, treat his clemency and that of his army as criminal and traitorous.†

D. Brutus, on the other hand, joined his army with Plancus, who acted with him for some time with great concord, and the affection of the whole province on their side: which being signified in their common letters to Rome, gave great hopes still and courage to all the honest there. In a letter of Plancus to Cicero, "You know," says he, "I imagine, "the state of our forces: in my camp, there are "three veteran legions, with one new, but the best

* Ep. Fam. x. 23. † Ib. 35.

" of all others of that sort: in Brutus's, one veteran " legion, another of two years standing, eight of new " levies: so that our whole army is great in number, " little in strength: for what small dependance there " is on a fresh soldier, we have oft experienced to " our cost. If the African troops, which are veteran, " or Cæsar's should join us, we should willingly put " all to the hazard of a battle: as I saw Cæsar's to " be the nearest, so I have never ceased to press him, " nor he to assure me, that he would come instantly, " though I perceive that he had no such thought, " and is quite gone off into other measures: yet, I " have sent our friend Furnius again to him, with " letters and instructions, if he can possibly do any " good with him. You know, my dear Cicero, that, " as to the love of young Cæsar, it belongs to me in " common with you: for, on the account either of " my intimacy with his uncle, when alive, it was ne- " cessary for me to protect and cherish him; or " because he himself, as far as I have been able to " observe, is of a most moderate and gentle disposi- " tion; or that, after so remarkable a friendship " with C. Cæsar, it would be a shame for me not to " love him, even as my own child, whom he had " adopted for his son. But what I now write, I " write out of grief, rather than ill-will: that An- " tony now lives; that Lepidus is joined with him; " that they have no contemptible army; that they " have hopes, and dare pursue them, is all entirely " owing to Cæsar. I will not recal what is long " since passed: but if he had come at the time, when " he himself declared that he would, the war would " have been either now ended, or removed, to their " great disadvantage, into Spain, a province utterly " averse to them. What motive, or whose counsels " drew him off from a part so glorious, nay, so ne- " cessary too, and salutary to himself, and turned " him so absurdly to the thoughts of a two months' " consulship, to the terror of all people, I cannot pos-

"sibly comprehend. His friends seem capable of "doing much good on this occasion, both to himself "and the republic; and, above all others, you, to "whom he has greater obligations than any man "living, except myself; for I shall never forget, that "I am indebted to you for the greatest. I have "given orders to Furnius to treat with him on these "affairs; and if I had as much authority with him "as I ought, should do him great service. We, in "the mean time, have a very hard part to sustain in "the war: for we neither think it safe to venture a "battle, nor yet, by turning our backs, to give the "enemy an opportunity of doing greater mischief to "the republic: but if either Cæsar would regard his "honour, or the African legions come quickly, we "shall make you all easy from this quarter. I beg "you to continue your affection to me, and assure "yourself that I am strictly your's."*

Upon the news of Lepidus's union with Antony, the senate, after some little time spent in considering the effects of it, being encouraged by the concord of D. Brutus and Plancus, and depending on the fidelity of their united forces, voted Lepidus an enemy, on the thirtieth of June; and demolished the gilt statue which they had lately erected to him; reserving still a liberty to him and his adherents, of returning to their duty by the first of September.† Lepidus's wife was M. Brutus's sister; by whom he had sons, whose fortunes were necessarily ruined by his vote, which confiscated the father's estate: for which reason Servilia, their grandmother, and Cassius's wife, their aunt, solicited Cicero very earnestly, either that the decree itself might not pass, or that the children should be excepted out of it: but Cicero could not consent to oblige them: for since

* Ep. Fam. x. 24.

† Lepidus tuus affinis, meus familiaris prid. Kal. Quint, sententiis omnibus hostis a Senatu judicatus est; cæterique qui una cum illo a Repub. defecerunt: quibus tamen ad sanitatem redeundi ante Kal. Sept. potestas facta est. Ep. Fam. 12. 10.

the first was thought necessary, the second followed of course: he gave Brutus, however, a particular account of the case by letter.

"CICERO TO BRUTUS.

"THOUGH I was just going to write to you by "Messala Corvinus, yet I would not let our friend "Vetus come without a letter. The republic, "Brutus, is now in the utmost danger, and after "we had conquered, we are forced again to fight, "by the perfidy and madness of M. Lepidus. On "which occasion, when, for the care with which I "have charged myself of the republic, I had many "things to make me uneasy, yet nothing vexed me "more, than that I could not yield to the prayers of "your mother and sister; for I imagined that I "should easily satisfy you, on which I lay the "greatest stress. For Lepidus's case could not, "by any means, be distinguished from Antony's; "nay, in all people's judgment, was even worse: "since, after he had received the highest honours "from the senate, and but a few days before had "sent an excellent letter to them; on a sudden, he "not only received the broken remains of our ene-"mies, but now wages a most cruel war against us "by land and sea; the event of which is wholly "uncertain. When we are desired, therefore, to "extend mercy to his children, not a word is said "why, if their father should conquer (which the "gods forbid,) we are not to expect the last punish-"ment from him. I am not ignorant how hard it is, "that children should suffer for the crimes of "their parents: but it was wisely contrived by the "laws, that the love of their children, should "make parents more affectionate to their country. "Wherefore, it is Lepidus who is cruel to his chil-"dren, not he who adjudges Lepidus an enemy;

"for if, laying down his arms, he were to be condemned only of violence, in which no defence "could be made for him, his children would suffer "the same calamity by the confiscation of his estate. "Yet, what your mother and sister are now soliciting against, in favour of the children, the very "same, and much worse, Lepidus, Antony, and our "other enemies, are, at this very moment, threatening to us all. Wherefore, our greatest hope is in "you and your army: it is of the utmost consequence, both to the republic in general, and to "your honour and glory in particular, that, as I "wrote to you before, you come as soon as possible "into Italy: for the republic is in great want, not "only of your forces, but of your counsels. I "served Vetus, with pleasure, as you desired me, "for his singular benevolence and duty to you: "I found him extremely zealous and affectionate "both to you and the republic: I shall see my son, "I hope, very soon; for I depend on his coming "with you quickly to Italy."*

Brutus, before he had received this letter, having heard, from other friends, what they were designing at Rome against Lepidus, wrote about the same time, and on the same subject, to Cicero.

"BRUTUS TO CICERO.

"OTHER people's fears oblige me to entertain "some apprehensions, myself, on Lepidus's account: if he should withdraw himself from us "(which will prove, I hope, a rash and injurious "suspicion of him), I beg and beseech you, Cicero, "conjuring you, by our friendship, and your affection to me, to forget that my sister's children are "Lepidus's sons, and to consider me in the place of "their father. If I obtain this of you, you will not

* Ad Brut. 12.

"scruple, I am sure, to do whatever you can for "them. Other people live differently with their "friends; but I can never do enough for my sister's "children to satisfy either my inclination or my "duty. But what is there in which honest men can "oblige me (if in reality I have deserved to be "obliged in any thing), or in which I can be of "service to my mother, sister, and the boys, if their "uncle Brutus has not as much weight with you and "the senate to protect, as their father Lepidus to "hurt them? I feel so much uneasiness and indig- "nation, that I neither can nor ought to write more "fully to you: for if, in a case so important and so "necessary, there could be any occasion for words "to excite and confirm you, there is no hope that "you will do what I wish, and what is proper. "Do not expect, therefore, any long prayers from "me: consider only what I am, and that I ought "to obtain it, either from Cicero, a man the most "intimately united with me; or, without regard to "our private friendship, from a consular senator of "such eminence: pray send me word as soon as "you can what you resolve to do. July the first."*

Cicero perceiving, from this letter, what he had no notion of before, how great a stress Brutus laid on procuring this favour for his nephews, prevailed with the senate to suspend the execution of their act, as far as it related to them, till the times were more settled.†

Lepidus and Antony were no sooner joined, than a correspondence was set on foot between them and Octavius; who, from the death of the consuls, shewed but little regard to the authority of Cicero, or the senate; and wanted only a pretence for breaking with them. He waited, however, awhile,

* Ad Brut. 13.

† Sororis tuæ filiis quam diligenter consulam, spero te ex matris et ex sororis litteris cogniturum, &c. Ib. 15. it. 18.

to see what became of Antony, till, finding him received and supported by Lepidus, he began to think it his best scheme to enter into the league with them; and to concur in what seemed to be more peculiarly his own part, the design of revenging the death of his uncle. Instead, therefore, of prosecuting the war any farther, he was persuaded by his friends to make a demand of the consulship, though he was not yet above twenty years old. This step shocked and terrified the city; not that the consulship could give him any power which his army had not already given, but as it indicated a dangerous and unseasonable ambition, grounded on a contempt of the laws, and the senate; and, above all, raised a just apprehension of some attempt against the public liberty: since, instead of leading his army where it was wanted and desired, against their enemies abroad, he chose to march with it towards Rome, as if he intended to subdue the republic itself.

There was a report spread, in the meanwhile, through the empire, that Cicero was chosen consul: Brutus, mentioning it in a letter to him, says, "If I "should ever see that day, I shall then begin to "figure to myself the true form of a republic, sub- "sisting by its own strength."* It is certain, that he might have been declared consul by the unanimous suffrage of the people, if he had desired it: but, in times of such violence, the title of supreme magistrate, without a real power to support it, would have exposed him only to more immediate danger and insults from the soldiers, whose fastidious insolence in their demands, was grown, as he complains, insupportable.† Some old writers say, what the moderns take implicitly from them, that he

* His litteris scriptis te Consulem factum audivimus; tum vero incipiam proponere mihi Rempub. justam et jam suis nitentem viribus, si isthuc videro. Ad Brut. 4.

† Illudimur, Brute, cum militum deliciis, tum Imperatoris insolentia. Ib. 10.

was duped, and drawn in by Octavius, to favour his pretensions to the consulship, by the hopes of being made his colleague, and governing him in the office.* But the contrary is evident from several of his letters; and that of all men, he was the most averse to Octavius's design, and the most active in dissuading him from pursuing it. Writing upon it to Brutus: "As to Cæsar," says he, "who has been "governed hitherto by my advice, and is indeed of "an excellent disposition, and wonderful firmness, "some people, by most wicked letters, messages, "and fallacious accounts of things, have pushed "him to an assured hope of the consulship. As "soon as I perceived it, I never ceased admonishing "him in absence, nor reproaching his friends who "are present, and who seem to encourage his ambi-"tion; nor did I scruple to lay open the source of "those traitorous counsels in the senate; nor do I "ever remember the senate or the magistrates "to have behaved better on any occasion: for, "it never happened before, in voting an extraordi-"nary honour to a powerful, or rather most power-"ful man (since power is now measured by force "and arms), that no tribune, or any other magis-"trate, nor so much as a private senator, would "move for it: yet, in the midst of all this firmness "and virtue, the city is greatly alarmed: for we "are abused, Brutus, both by the licentiousness of "the soldiers, and the insolence of the general. "Every one demands to have as much power in the "state, as he has means to extort it: no reason, no "moderation, no law, no custom, no duty is at all "regarded, no judgment or opinion of the citizens, "no shame of posterity,"† &c.

* Plut. in Cic. † Ad Brut. 10.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

WHAT Cicero says in this letter, is very remarkable, that, in all this height of young Cæsar's power, there was not a magistrate, nor so much as a single senator, who would move for the decree of his consulship: the demand of it, therefore, was made by a deputation of his officers; and, when the senate received it more coldly than they expected, Cornelius, a centurion, throwing back his robe, and shewing them his sword, boldly declared, that if they would not make him consul, that should. But Octavius himself soon put an end to their scruples, by marching with his legions in an hostile manner to the city;* where he was chosen consul, with Q. Pedius, his kinsman, and coheir in part of his uncle's estate, in the month of Sextilis; which, on the account of this fortunate beginning of his honours, was called afterwards, from his own surname, Augustus.†

The first act of his magistracy was to secure all the public money, which he found in Rome, and make a dividend of it to his soldiers. He complained loudly of the senate, that, instead of paying his army the rewards which they had decreed to them, they were contriving to harass them with perpetual toils, and to engage them in fresh wars against Lepidus and Antony; and, likewise, that in the commission granted to ten senators, to provide lands for the legions after the war, they had not named him.‡ But there was no just ground for any such complaints: for those rewards were not decreed, nor intended to be distributed, till the war was quite ended; and the leaving Cæsar out of the

* Consulatum vigesimo ætatis anno invasit, admotis hostiliter ad urbem legionibus, missisque, qui sibi exercitus nomine deposcerent. Cum quidem, cunctante Senatu, Cornelius centurio, princeps legationis rejecto sagulo, ostendens gladii capulum, non dubitasset in curia dicere; hic faciet, si vos non feceritis. Sueton. Aug. c. 26.

† Sextilem mensem e suo cognomine nominavit, magis quam Septembrem, in quo erat natus, quia hoc sibi et primus Consulatus, &c. Sueton. Aug. 31.

‡ Appian. 3. 581.

commission was not from any particular slight, but a general exception of all, who had the command of armies, as improper to be employed in such a charge; though Cicero, indeed, was of a different opinion, and pressed for their being taken in. D. Brutus and Plancus were excluded as well as Cæsar; and both of them seem, likewise, to have been disgusted at it: so that Cicero, who was one of the number, in order to retrieve the imprudence of a step which gave such offence, would not suffer his colleagues to do any thing of moment, but reserved the whole affair to the arrival of Cæsar and the rest.*

But Cæsar, being now wholly bent on changing sides and measures, was glad to catch on every occasion of quarrelling with the senate: he charged them with calling him a boy, and treating him as such;† and found a pretext also against Cicero himself, whom, after all the services received from him, his present views obliged him to abandon; for some busy informers had told him that Cicero had spoken of him in certain ambiguous terms, which carried a double meaning, either of advancing, or taking him off; which Octavius was desirous to have reported every where, and believed in the worst sense. D. Brutus gave Cicero the first notice of it in the following letter:—

"D. BRUTUS, EMPEROR, CONSUL-ELECT, TO
"M. T. CICERO.

"WHAT I do not feel on my own account, my "love and obligations to you make me feel on "your's: that is, fear. For after I had been often "told, what I did not wholly slight, Labeo Segu-

* Cum ego sensissem, de iis qui exercitus haberent, sententiam ferri oportere, iidem illi, qui solent, reclamarunt. Itaque excepti etiam estis, me vehementer repugnante—itaque cum quidam de Collegis nostris agrariam curationem ligurirent, disturbavi rem, totamque integram vobis reservavi. Ep. Fam. xi. 21. it. 20. 25.

† Dio, l. 46. 318. Sueton. Aug. 12.

" lius, a man always like himself, just now informs " me, that he has been with Cæsar, where there " was much discourse on you: that Cæsar himself " had no other complaint against you, but for a " certain saying, which he declared to have been " spoken by you; that the young man was to be " praised, adorned, taken off;* but he would not " be so silly, he said, as to put it into any man's " power to take him off. This, I dare say, was " first carried to him, or forged by Segulius him- " self, and did not come from the young man. Se- " gulius had a mind, likewise, to persuade me, that " the veterans talk most angrily against you; and " that you are in danger from them; and that the " chief cause of their anger is, because neither Cæ- " sar nor I am in the commission of the ten, but " all things transacted by your will and pleasure: " upon hearing this, though I was then upon my " march, I did not think it proper to pass the Alps, " till I could first learn how matters were going " amongst you,"† &c.

To this Cicero answered.

" The gods confound that Segulius, the greatest " knave that is, or was, or ever will be. What! " do you imagine, that he told his story only to " you and to Cæsar? he told the same to every soul " that he could speak with: I love you, however, my " Brutus, as I ought, for acquainting me with it, " how trifling soever it be: it is a sure sign of your " affection. For as to what Segulius says, of the " complaint of the veterans, because you and Cæsar " were not in the commission, I wish that I was not " in it myself; for what can be more troublesome?— " but when I proposed that those who had the com- " mand of armies should be included in it, the same " men, who used to oppose every thing, remonstrated

* Laudandum adolescentem, ornandum, tollendum. Which last word signifies, either to raise to honours, or take away life.

† Ep. Fam. xi. 20.

"against it; so that you were excepted, wholly "against my vote and opinion,"* &c.

As for the story of the words, he treats it, we see, as too contemptible to deserve an apology, or the pains of disclaiming it; and it seems, indeed, incredible, that a man of his prudence could ever say them. If he had harboured such a thought, or had been tempted, on any occasion, to throw out such a hint, we might have expected to find it in his letters to Brutus; yet, on the contrary, he speaks always of Octavius in terms highly advantageous, even where he was likely to give disgust by it. But nothing was more common than to have sayings forged for his, which he had never spoken: and this was one of that sort; contrived to instil a jealousy into Octavius, or to give him a handle, at least, for breaking with Cicero, which, in his present circumstances, he was glad to lay hold of: and when the story was once become public, and supposed to have gained credit with Octavius, it is not strange to find it taken up by the writers of the following ages, Velleius and Suetonius, though not without an intimation from the latter of its suspected credit.† . .

While the city was in the utmost consternation, on Cæsar's approach, with his army, two veteran legions from Afric happened to arrive in the Tiber, and were received as a succour sent to them from Heaven; but this joy lasted not long; for presently after their landing, being corrupted by the other soldiers, they deserted the senate, who sent for them, and joined themselves to Cæsar. Pollio, likewise, about the same time, with two of his best legions from Spain, came to the assistance of Antony and Lepidus; so that all the veterans of the western part of the empire were now plainly forming themselves into one body, to revenge the death of their old general. The consent of all these armies,

* Ep. Fam. 21. † Vell. Pat. 2. 62. Sueton. Aug. c. 12.

and the unexpected turn of Antony's affairs, staggered the fidelity of Plancus, and induced him, also, at last, to desert his colleague, D. Brutus, with whom he had hitherto acted with much seeming concord: Pollio made his peace, and good terms for him, with Antony and Lepidus, and soon after, brought him over to their camp, with all his troops.

D. Brutus, being thus abandoned, and left to shift for himself, with a needy, mutinous army, eager to desert, and ready to give him up to his enemies, had no other way to save himself, than by flying to his namesake in Macedonia: but the distance was so great, and the country so guarded, that he was often forced to change his road, for fear of being taken; till, having dismissed all his attendants, and wandered for some time alone, in disguise and distress, he committed himself to the protection of an old acquaintance and host, whom he had formerly obliged; where either through treachery or accident, he was surprised by Antony's soldiers, who immediately killed him, and returned with his head to their general.*

Several of the old writers have reproached his memory with a shameful cowardice, in the manner of suffering his death, unworthy of the man who had killed Cæsar, and commanded armies. But their accounts are so various, and so inconsistent with the character of his former life, that we may reasonably suspect them to be forged by those who were disposed to throw all kinds of contumely on the murderers of Cæsar.†

But what gave the greatest shock to the whole republican party, was a law contrived by Cæsar, and published by his colleague, Pedius, to bring to trial and justice all those who had been concerned either in advising or effecting Cæsar's death: in conse-

* Vell. Pat. 2. 64. App. I. S. 588.

† Senec. Ep. 82. 543. Dio, l. 46. 325. Val. Max. 9. 13.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

quence of which, all the conspirators were presently impeached, in form, by different accusers; and, as none of them ventured to appear to their citations, they were all condemned, of course; and, by a second law, interdicted from fire and water: Pompey, also, though he had borne no part in that act, was added to the number, as an irreconcileable enemy to the Cæsarian cause: after which, Cæsar to make amends for the unpopularity of his law, distributed to the citizens the legacies which his uncle had left them by will.*

Cicero foresaw that things might possibly take this turn, and Plancus himself prove treacherous; and, for that reason, was constantly pressing Brutus and Cassius to hasten to Italy as the most effectual means to prevent it; every step that Cæsar took confirmed his apprehensions, and made him more importunate with them to come, especially after the union of Antony and Lepidus. In his letters to Brutus, "Fly "to us," says he, "I beseech you, and exhort Cas- "sius to the same; for there is no hope of liberty, "but from your troops.† If you have any regard "for the republic, for which you were born, you "must do it instantly; for the war is renewed by the "inconstancy of Lepidus; and Cæsar's army, which "was the best, is not only of no service to us, but "even obliges us to call for your's; as soon as ever "you touch Italy, there is not a man, whom we can "call a citizen, who will not immediately be in your "camp. We have D. Brutus, indeed, happily "united with Plancus: but you are not ignorant "how changeable men's minds are, and how in- "fected with party, and how uncertain the events "of war: nay, should we conquer, as I hope we "shall, there will be a want of your advice and au- "thority, to settle all affairs. Help us, therefore,

* App. l. 3. 586. Dio, 46. 822.

† Quamobrem advola, obsecro—hortare idem per litteras Cassium. Spes libertatis nusquam nisi in vestrorum castrorum principiis est. Ad Brut. 10.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

" for God's sake, and as soon as possible; and assure " yourself that you did not do a greater service to " your country on the Ides of March, when you " freed it from slavery, than you will do by coming " quickly."*

After many remonstrances of the same kind, he wrote also the following letter:—

" CICERO TO BRUTUS.

" After I had often exhorted you, by letters, to " come as soon as possible to the relief of the re- " public, and bring your army into Italy, and ne- " ver imagined that your own people had any scru- " ples about it, I was desired by that most prudent " and diligent woman, your mother, all whose " thoughts and cares are employed on you, that I " would come to her on the twenty-fourth of July; " which I did, as I ought, without delay. When I " came, I found Casca, Labeo, and Scaptius with " her. She presently entered into the affair, and " asked my opinion, whether we should send for " you to Italy; and whether I thought it best for " you to come, or to continue abroad. I declared, " what I took to be the most for your honour and " reputation, that, without loss of time, you should " bring present help to the tottering and declining " state. For what mischief may not one expect " from that war, where the conquering armies re- " fused to pursue a flying enemy? where a general, " unhurt, unprovoked, possessed of the highest ho- " nours, and the greatest fortunes, with a wife, chil- " dren, and near relation to you, has declared war " against the commonwealth? I may add, where " in so great a concord of the senate and people, " there resides still so much disorder within the

* Subveni igitur, patri Deos, idque quam primum: tibique persuade, non te Idibus Martiis, quibus servitutem a tuis civibus repulisti, plus profuisse patriæ, quam, si maturè veneris, profuturum. Ib. 14.

" walls? But the greatest grief which I feel, while " I am now writing, is to reflect, that when the re- " public had taken my word for a youth, or rather " a boy, I shall hardly have it in my power to make " good what I promised for him. For it is a thing " of much greater delicacy and moment, to engage " oneself for another's sentiments and principles, " especially in affairs of importance, than for money: " for money may be paid, and the loss itself be to- " lerable: but how can you pay what you are en- " gaged for to the republic, unless he, for whom you " stand engaged, will suffer it to be paid? Yet I am " still in hopes to hold him; though many are pluck- " ing him away from me: for his disposition seems " good, though his age be flexible, and many al- " ways at hand to corrupt him; who, by throwing " in his way the splendour of false honour, think " themselves sure of dazzling his good sense and " understanding. Wherefore, to all my other la- " bours, this new one is added, of setting all engines " at work to hold fast the young man, lest I incur the " imputation of rashness. Though what rashness " is it after all? for, in reality, I bound him, for " whom I was engaged, more strongly than myself: " nor has the republic, as yet, any cause to repent " that I was his sponsor: since he has, hitherto, " been the more firm and constant in acting for us, " as well from his own temper as for my promise. " The greatest difficulty in the republic, if I mistake " not, is the want of money: for honest men grow " every day more and more averse to the name of " tribute; and what was gathered from the hun- " dredth penny, where the rich are shamefully rated, " is all spent in rewarding the two legions. There " is an infinite expense upon us, to support the ar- " mies, which now defend us; and also your's; for " our Cassius seems likely to come sufficiently pro- " vided. But, I long to talk over this, and many " other things, with you in person; and that quickly.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

"As to your sister's children, I did not wait, Brutus, "for your writing to me: the times themselves, since "the war will be drawn into length, reserve the "whole affair to you: but from the first, when I "could not foresee the continuance of the war, I "pleaded the cause of the children in the senate, in "a manner, which you have been informed of I "guess by your mother's letters: nor can there "ever be any case, where I will not both say and do, "even at the hazard of my life, whatever I think "agreeable either to your inclination, or to your "interest. The twenty-sixth of July."*

In a letter, likewise, to Cassius, he says, "We "wish to see you in Italy, as soon as possible; and "shall imagine, that we have recovered the republic, "when we have you with us. We had conquered "nobly, if Lepidus had not received the routed, "disarmed, fugitive Antony: wherefore Antony "himself was never so odious to the city, as Lepidus "is now: for he began a war upon us, from a turbu- "lent state of things; this man from peace and "victory. We have the consuls elect to oppose "him: in whom indeed we have great hopes; yet "not without an anxious care for the uncertain "events of battles. Assure yourself, therefore, that "all our dependance is on you and your Brutus; "that you are both expected, but Brutus imme- "diately,"† &c.

But, after all these repeated remonstrances of Cicero, neither Brutus nor Cassius seem to have entertained the least thought of coming with their armies to Italy. Cassius, indeed, by being more remote, could not come so readily, and was not so much expected as Brutus; who before the battle of Modena, had drawn down all his legions to the sea-coast, and kept them at Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, waiting the event of that action, and ready to em-

* Ad Brut. 18. † Ep. Fam. 12. 10.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

bark for Italy if any accident had made his assistance necessary; for which Cicero highly commends him.* But, upon the news of Antony's defeat, taking all the danger to be over, he marched away directly to the remotest parts of Greece and Macedonia, to oppose the attempts of Dolabella; and, from that time, seemed deaf to the call of the senate, and to all Cicero's letters, which urged him so strongly to come to their relief. It is difficult, at this ditsance, to penetrate the motives of his conduct: he had a better opinion of Lepidus than the rest of his party had; and, being naturally positive, might affect to slight the apprehensions of Lepidus's treachery, which was the chief ground of their calling so earnestly for him. But he had other reasons also, which were thought to be good: since some of his friends at Rome, as we may collect from Cicero's letter, were of a different mind from Cicero on the subject of his coming. They might suspect the fidelity of his troops; and that they were not sufficiently confirmed and attached to him, to be trusted in the field against the veterans in Italy; whose example and invitation, when they came to face each other, might possibly induce them to desert, as the other armies had done, and betray their commanders. But whatever was their real motivē, D. Brutus, who was the best judge of the state of things at home, was entirely of Cicero's opinion: he saw himself surrounded with veteran armies, disaffected to the cause of liberty: knew the perfidy of Lepidus; the ambition of young Cæsar; and the irresolution of his colleague, Plancus; and admonished Cicero, therefore, in all his letters, to urge his namesake to hasten his march to them.† So that, on the whole,

* Tuum consilium vehementer laudo, quod non prius exercitum Apollonia Dyrrhachioque movisti, quam de Antonii fuga audisti, Bruti eruptione, populi Romani victoria. Ad Brut. 2.

† De Bruto autem nihil adhuc certi. Quem ego, quemadmodum præcipis, privatis litteris ad bellum commune vocare non desino. Ep. Fam. xi. 25. it. 26.

it seems reasonable to believe, that, if Brutus and Cassius had marched with their armies towards Italy, at the time when Cicero first pressed it, before the defection of Plancus and the death of Decimus, it must have prevented the immediate ruin of the republic.

The want of money, of which Cicero complains at this time, as the greatest evil that they had to struggle with, is expressed also very strongly in another letter to Cornificius, the proconsul of Afric, who was urging him to provide a fund for the support of his legions: "As to the expense," says he, "which "you have made, and are making, in your military "preparations, it is not in my power to help you; "because the senate is now without a head, by the "death of the consuls, and there is an incredible "scarcity of money in the treasury; which we are "gathering, however, from all quarters, to make "good our promises to the troops, that have deserved "it of us; which cannot be done, in my opinion, "without a tribute."* This tribute was a sort of capitation tax, proportioned to each man's substance, but had been wholly disused in Rome, from the conquest of Macedonia, by Paulus Æmilius, which furnished money and rents sufficient to ease the city ever after of that burthen, till the necessity of the present times obliged them to renew it.† But from what Cicero intimates of the general aversion to the revival of it, one cannot help observing the fatal effects of that indolence and luxury, which had infected even the honest part of Rome; who, in this utmost exigency of the republic, were shocked at the very mention of an extraordinary tax; and

* De sumtu, quem te in rem militarem facere et fecisse dicis, nihil sane possum tibi opitulari, propterea quod et orbus Senatus, Consulibus amissis, et incredibiles angustiæ pecuniæ publicæ, &c. Ep. Fam. 12. 30.

† At Perse Rege devicto Paulus, cum Macedonicis opibus veterem atque hereditariam Urbis nostræ paupertatem eo usque satiasset, ut illo tempore primum populus Romanus tributi præstandi onere se liberaret. Val. Max. 4. 3. it. Plin. Hist. N. 33. 3.

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would not part with the least share of their money for the defence even of their liberty: the consequence of which was, what it must always be in the like case, that, by starving the cause, they found, not only their fortunes, but their lives also, soon after, at the mercy of their enemies. Cicero has a reflection in one of his speeches, that seems applicable also to the present case, and to be verified by the example of these times. "The republic," says he, "is attacked always with greater vigour, than "it is defended; for the audacious and profligate, "prompted by their natural enmity to it, are easily "impelled to act upon the least nod of their leaders: "whereas the honest, I know not why, are gene-"rally slow, and unwilling to stir; and neglecting "always the beginnings of things, are never roused "to exert themselves, but by the last necessity: so "that through irresolution and delay, when they "would be glad to compound at last for their quiet, "at the expense even of their honour, they com-"monly lose them both." *

This observation will serve to vindicate the conduct of Cassius, from that charge of violence and cruelty, which he is said to have practised, in exacting money, and other necessaries, from the cities of Asia. He was engaged in an expiable war, where he must either conquer or perish with the republic itself; and where his legions were not only to be supported, but rewarded: the revenues of the empire were exhausted; contributions came in sparingly; and the states abroad were all desirous to stand neuter, as doubtful of the issue, and unwilling to offend either side. Under these difficulties, where money was necessary, and no way of procuring it but force, extortion became lawful; the necessity of the end justified the means; and, when the safety of the empire and the liberty of Rome were at stake,

* Pro Sextio, 47.

it was no time to listen to scruples. This was Cassius's way of reasoning, and the ground of his acting; who applied all his thoughts to support the cause that he had undertaken, and kept his eyes, as Appian says, wholly fixed upon the war, as a gladiator upon his antagonist.*

Brutus, on the other hand, being of a temper more mild and scrupulous, contented himself generally with the regular methods of raising money; and, from his love of philosophy, and the politer studies, having contracted an affection for the cities of Greece, instead of levying contributions, used to divert himself wherever he passed, with seeing their games and exercises, and presiding at their philosophical disputations, as if travelling rather for curiosity, than to provide materials for a bloody war.† When he and Cassius, therefore, met, the difference of their circumstances shewed the different effects of their conduct. Cassius, without receiving a penny from Rome, came rich and amply furnished with all the stores of war: Brutus, who had received large remittances from Italy, came empty and poor, and unable to support himself without the help of Cassius, who was now forced to give him a third part of that treasure, which he had been gathering with so much envy to himself for the common service.‡

While Cicero was taking all this pains, and struggling thus gloriously in the support of their expiring liberty, Brutus, who was naturally peevish and querulous, being particularly chagrined by the unhappy turn of affairs in Italy, and judging of counsels by events, was disposed at last to throw all the blame upon him; charging him chiefly, that, by a profusion of honours on young Cæsar, he had inspired him with an ambition incompatible with the safety of the

* Ὁ μὲν Κάσσιος ἀμεταστρεπτί, καθάπερ ἐς τὸν ἀγωνιστὴν οἱ μονομαχοῦντες, ἐς μόνον τὸν πόλεμον ἀφεώρα. App. l. 4. 667.

† Ὁ δὲ Βροῦτος, ὅπη γίγνοιτο, καὶ φιλοθεάμων ἦν καὶ φιλήκοος, ἅτε καὶ φιλοσοφήσας οὐκ ἀγεννῶς. Ib.

‡ Plut. in Brut.

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republic, and armed him with that power which he was now employing to oppress it: whereas the truth is, that, by those honours, Cicero did not intend to give Cæsar any new power, but to apply that which he had acquired, by his own vigour, to the public service and the ruin of Antony; in which he succeeded even beyond expectation; and would certainly have gained his end, had he not been prevented by accidents which could not be foreseen. For it is evident, from the facts above-mentioned, that he was always jealous of Cæsar, and, instead of increasing, was contriving some check to his authority, till, by the death of the consuls, he slipped out of his hands, and became too strong to be managed by him any longer. Brutus, by being at such a distance, was not well apprized of the particular grounds of granting those honours; but Decimus, who was all the while in Italy, saw the use and necessity of them, and seems to hint, in some of his letters, that they ought to have decreed still greater.*

But whatever Brutus, or any one else, may have said, if we reflect on Cicero's conduct, from the time of Cæsar's death to his own, we shall find it, in all respects, uniform, great, and glorious; never deviating from the grand point which he had in view, the liberty of his country: whereas, if we attend to Brutus's, we cannot help observing in it something strangely various and inconsistent with itself. In his outward manners and behaviour, he affected the rigour of a stoic, and the severity of an old Roman; yet, by a natural tenderness and compassion, was oft betrayed into acts of effeminate weakness. To restore the liberty of his country, he killed his friend and benefactor; and declares, that, for the same

* Mirabiliter, mi Brute, lætor, mea consilia, measque sententias a te probari, de Decemviris, de ornando adolescente. Ep. Fam. xi. 14. it. 20.

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cause, he would have killed even his father:* yet he would not take Antony's life, though it was a necessary sacrifice to the same cause. When Dolabella had basely murdered Trebonius, and Antony openly approved the act, he could not be persuaded to make reprisals on C. Antony; but, through a vain ostentation of clemency, suffered him to live, though with danger to himself. When his brother-in-law, Lepidus, was declared an enemy, he expressed an absurd and peevish resentment of it, for the sake of his nephews, as if it would not have been in his power to have repaired their fortunes, if the republic was ever restored; or, if not, in their father's. How contrary is this to the spirit of that old Brutus, from whom he derived his descent, and whom, in his general conduct, he pretended to imitate! He blames Cicero for dispensing honours too largely, yet claims an infinite share of them to himself; and when he had seized, by his private authority, what the senate, at Cicero's motion, confirmed to him, the most extraordinary command which had been granted to any man, he declares himself an enemy to all extraordinary commissions, in what hands soever they were lodged.†

This inconsistency in his character, would tempt us to believe that he was governed, in many cases, by the pride and haughtiness of his temper, rather than by any constant and settled principles of philosophy, of which he is commonly thought so strict an observer.

Cicero, however, notwithstanding the peevishness of Brutus, omitted no opportunity of serving and supporting him to the very last. As soon as he perceived Cæsar's intention of revenging his uncle's

* ——Non concesserim, quod in illo non tuli, sed ne patri quidem meo, si reviviscat, ut, patiente me, plus legibus ac Senatu possit. [Ad Brut. 16.] Sed dominum, n parentem quidem, majores nostri voluerunt esse. Ib. 17.

† Ego certe—cum ipsa re bellum geram, hoc est cum regno, et imperiis extraordinariis et dominatione et potentia. Ad Brut. 17.

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death, he took all imaginable pains to dissuade him from it, and never ceased from exhorting him by letters to a reconciliation with Brutus, and the observance of that amnesty, which the senate had decreed, as the foundation of the public peace. This was certainly the best service which he could do, either to Brutus or the republic; and Atticus, imagining that Brutus would be pleased with it, sent him a copy of what Cicero had written on that subject; but, instead of pleasing, it provoked Brutus only the more: he treated it as base and dishonourable to ask any thing of a boy, or to imagine the safety of Brutus to depend on any one but himself, and signified his mind upon it, both to Cicero and Atticus, in such a style, as confirms what Cicero had long before observed, and more than once declared of him, that his letters were generally churlish, unmannerly, and arrogant; and that he regarded neither what, or to whom he was writing.* But their own letters to each other will be the best vouchers of what I have been remarking, and enable us to form the surest judgment of the different spirit and conduct of the men. After Brutus, therefore, had frequently intimated his dissatisfaction and dislike of Cicero's management, Cicero took occasion, in the following letter, to lay open the whole progress of it, from the time of Cæsar's death, in order to shew the reasonableness and necessity of each step:

"CICERO TO BRUTUS.

"You have Messala now with you. It is not "possible, therefore, for me to explain, by letter, "though ever so accurately drawn, the present state "of our affairs so exactly as he, who not only knows "them all more perfectly, but can describe them "more elegantly than any man; for I would not

* Ad Att. 6. 1. 3.

" have you imagine Brutus, (though there is no oc-
" casion to tell you what you know already your-
" self, but that I cannot pass over in silence such an
" excellence of all good qualities), I would not
" have you imagine, I say, that, for probity, con-
" stancy, and zeal for the republic, there is any one
" equal to him; so that eloquence, in which he won-
" derfully excels, scarce finds a place among his
" other praises: since, even in that, his wisdom
" shines the most eminent, by his having formed
" himself with so much judgment and skill to the
" truest manner of speaking. Yet his industry, all
" the while, is so remarkable, and he spends so
" much of his time in study, that he seems to owe
" but little to his parts, which still are the greatest.
" But I am carried too far by my love for him: for
" it is not the purpose of this epistle to praise Mes-
" sala, especially to Brutus, to whom his virtue is
" not less known than to myself, and these very
" studies, which I am praising, still more: whom
" when I could not part with without regret, I
" comforted myself by reflecting, that by his going
" away to you, as it were to my second self,
" he both discharged his duty, and pursued the
" truest path to glory. But so much for that.* I

* Publius Valerius Messala Corvinus, of whom Cicero here gives so fine a character, was one of the noblest, as well as the most accomplished persons of his age, who lived long afterwards, the general favourite of all parties, and a principal ornament of Augustus's court. Being in arms with Brutus, he was proscribed, of course, by the triumvirate, yet was excepted soon after by a special edict, but refused the benefit of that grace, and adhered to the cause of liberty, till he saw it expire, with his friend. After the battle of Philippi, the troops that remained freely offered themselves to his command; but he chose to accept peace, to which he was invited by the conquerors, and surrendered himself to Antony, with whom he had a particular acquaintance. When Cæsar was defeated, not long after, by S. Pompey, on the coast of Sicily, being in the utmost distress and danger of life, he committed himself, with one domestic, to the fidelity of Messala; who, instead of revenging himself on one who had so lately proscribed and set a price upon his head, generously protected and preserved him. He continued still in the friendship of Antony, till the scandal of Antony's life, and slavish obsequiousness to Cleopatra, threw him wholly into the interests of Cæsar, by whom he was declared consul in Antony's place, greatly entrusted in the battle of Actium, and honoured at last with a triumph, for reducing the rebellious Gauls to their obedience. He is celebrated by all writers, as one of the first orators in Rome; and having been the disciple of Cicero, was thought, by

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"come now, after a long interval, to consider a cer-
"tain letter of your's, in which, while you allow me
"to have done well in many things, you find fault
"with me for one; that, in conferring honours I
"was too free, and even prodigal. You charge me
"with this; others, probably, with being too severe
"in punishing, or you yourself, perhaps, with both:
"if so, I desire that my judgment and sentiments
"on each may be clearly explained to you: not that
"I mean to justify myself by the authority of Solon,
"the wisest of the seven, and the only legislator of
"them all, who used to say that the public weal was
"comprised in two things—rewards and punish-
"ments; in which, however, as in every thing else,
"a certain medium and temperament is to be ob-
"served. But it is not my design, at this time, to
"discuss so great a subject; I think it proper only to
"open the reasons of my votes and opinions in the
"senate, from the beginning of this war. After the
"death of Cæsar, and those your memorable Ides
"of March, you cannot forget, Brutus, what I de-
"clared to have been omitted by you, and what a
"tempest I foresaw hanging over the republic:—
"you had freed us from a great plague; wiped off
"a great stain from the Roman people; acquired
"to yourselves Divine glory: yet all the equipage
"and furniture of kingly power was left still to Le-
"pidus and Antony; the one inconstant, the other
"vicious; both of them afraid of peace, and enemies
"to the public quiet. While these men were eager

some, to excel even his master, in the sweetness and correctness of his style; preserving always a dignity, and demonstrating his nobility by the very manner of his speaking. To the perfection of his eloquence he had added all the accomplishments of the other liberal arts; was a great admirer of Socrates, and the severer studies of philosophy, yet an eminent patron of all the wits and poets of those times. Tibullus was the constant companion of all his foreign expeditions, which he celebrates in his elegies; and Horace, in one of his odes, calls for his choicest wines, for the entertainment of so noble a guest. Yet this polite and amiable man, impaired by sickness, and worn out at last by age, is said to have outlived his senses and memory, till he had forgotten even his very name. See App. p. 611. 736. Tacit. Dial. 18. Quintil. x. 1. Tibull. Eleg. lib. 1. 7. Hor. Carm. 3. 21. Plin. Hist. N. 7. 24.

" to raise fresh disturbances in the republic, we had
" no guard about us to oppose them, though the
" whole city was eager and unanimous in asserting
" its liberty: I was then thought too violent; while
" you, perhaps more wisely, withdrew yourselves
" from that city, which you had delivered, and re-
" fused the help of all Italy, which offered to arm
" itself in your cause. Wherefore, when I saw the
" city in the hands of traitors, oppressed by the arms
" of Antony, and that neither you nor Cassius could
" be safe in it, I thought it time for me to quit it too:
" for a city overpowered by traitors, without the
" means of relieving itself, is a wretched spectacle:
" yet my mind, always the same, and ever fixed on the
" love of my country, could not bear the thought of
" leaving it in distress: in the midst, therefore, of
" my voyage to Greece, and in the very season of the
" Etesian winds, when an uncommon south wind,
" as if displeased with my resolution, had driven
" me back to Italy, I found you at Velia, and was
" greatly concerned at it: for you were retreating,
" Brutus; were retreating, I say; since your stoics
" will not allow their wise man to fly. As soon as
" I came to Rome, I exposed myself to the wick-
" edness and rage of Antony; and, when I had ex-
" asperated him against me, began to enter into
" measures, in the very manner of the Brutuses (for
" such are peculiar to your blood), for delivering the
" republic. I shall omit the long recital of what fol-
" lowed, since it all relates to myself, and observe
" only, that young Cæsar, by whom, if we will con-
" fess the truth, we subsist at this day, flowed from the
" source of my counsels. I decreed him no honours,
" Brutus, but what were due; none but what were
" necessary: for as soon as we began to recover any
" liberty, and before the virtue of D. Brutus had yet
" shewn itself so far that we could know its Divine
" force; and while our whole defence was in the
" boy who repelled Antony from our necks, what

" honour was not really due to him? though I gave
" him nothing yet but the praise of words, and that
" but moderate. I decreed him, indeed, a legal
" command: which, though it seemed honourable
" to one of that age, was yet necessary to one who
" had an army: for what is an army without the
" command of it? Philip voted him a statue; Ser-
" vius the privilege of suing for offices before the le-
" gal time, which was shortened still by Servilius;
" nothing was then thought too much; but we are
" apt, I know not how, to be more liberal in fear, than
" grateful in success. When D. Brutus was de-
" livered from the siege, a day of all others the most
" joyous to the city, which happened also to be his
" birth-day, I decreed, that his name should be as-
" cribed for ever to that day, in the public calendars.
" In which I followed the example of our ancestors,
" who paid the same honour to a woman, Larentia;
" at whose altar your priests perform sacred rites in
" the Velabrum: by giving this to D. Brutus, my
" design was, to fix in the calendars a perpetual
" memorial of a most acceptable victory: but I per-
" ceived, on that day, that there was more malevo-
" lence than gratitude in many of the senate. Dur-
" ing these same days, I poured out honours (since
" you will have it so) on the deceased Hirtius, Pansa,
" and Aquila: and who can find fault with it, but
" those who, when fear is once over, forget their
" past danger? But besides the grateful remem-
" brance of services, there was an use in it, which
" reached to posterity: for I was desirous, that there
" should remain an eternal monument of the pub-
" lic hatred to our most cruel enemies. There is
" one thing, I doubt, which does not please you;
" for it does not please your friends here; who,
" though excellent men, have but little experience
" in public affairs; that I decreed an ovation to
" Cæsar: but, for my part (though I may perhaps
" be mistaken, for I am not one of those, who ap-

" prove nothing but what is my own), I cannot but
" think, that I have advised nothing more prudent
" during this war. Why it is so, is not proper to be
" explained, lest I be thought to have been more
" provident in it than grateful. But even this is too
" much: let us pass, therefore, to other things. I
" decreed honours to D. Brutus; decreed them to
" Plancus: they must be men of great souls, who
" are attracted by glory: but the senate also is
" certainly wise, in trying every art that is honest,
" by which it can engage any one to the service of
" the republic. But I am blamed in the case of
" Lepidus: to whom, after I had raised a statue in
" the rostra, I presently threw it down. My view
" in that honour, was to reclaim him from desperate
" measures; but the madness of an inconstant man
" got the better of my prudence: nor was there yet
" so much harm in erecting, as good in demolishing
" the statue. But I have said enough concerning
" honours; and must say a word or two about pun-
" ishments: for I have often observed from your
" letters, that you are fond of acquiring a repu-
" tation of clemency, by your treatment of those
" whom you have conquered in war. I can
" imagine nothing to be done by you, but what is
" wisely done: but to omit the punishing of wicked-
" ness (which we call pardoning), though it be tole-
" rable in other cases, I hold to be pernicious in this
" war. Of all the civil wars that have been in my
" memory, there was not one, in which, what side
" soever got the better, there would not have re-
" mained some form of a commonwealth: yet, in
" this, what sort of a republic we are like to have, if
" we conquer, I would not easily affirm; but if we
" are conquered, we are sure to have none. My
" votes, therefore, were severe against Antony; se-
" vere against Lepidus; not from any spirit of re-
" venge, but to deter wicked citizens, at present,
" from making war against their country; and to

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" leave an example to posterity, that none hereafter " should imitate such rashness. Yet, this very vote " was not more mine, than it was every body's: in " which there seems, I own, to be something cruel, " that the punishment should reach to children who " have done nothing to deserve it: but the consti- " tution is both ancient, and of all cities: for even " Themistocles's children were reduced to want: " and since the same punishment falls upon citizens, " condemned of public crimes, how was it possible " for us to be more gentle towards enemies? But " how can that man complain of me, who, if he had " conquered, must needs confess, that he would " have treated me even with more severity? You " have now the motives of my opinions in the case " of rewards and punishments: for as to other points, " you have heard, I imagine, what my sentiments " and votes have been. But to talk of these things " now is not necessary; what I am going to say, is " extremely so, Brutus—that you come to Italy with " your army as soon as possible. We are in the ut- " most expectation of you: whenever you set foot " in Italy, all the world will fly to you: for whether " it be our lot to conquer (as we had already done, " if Lepidus had not been desirous to overturn all, " and perish himself with his friends), there will be a " great want of your authority, for the settling some " state of a city amongst us; or if there be any dan- " ger and struggle still behind, hasten to us for " God's sake: for you know how much depends on " opportunity, how much on dispatch. What dili- " gence I shall use in the care of your sister's chil- " dren, you will soon know, I hope, from your mo- " ther's and sister's letters: in whose cause I have " more regard to your will, which is ever most dear " to me, than, as some think, to my own constancy; " but it is my desire both to be, and to appear con- " stant, in nothing so much as in loving you."*

* Ad Brut. 15.

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" BRUTUS TO CICERO

" I HAVE read a part of your letter which you sent " to Octavius, transmitted to me by Atticus. Your " zeal and concern for my safety gave me no new " pleasure; for it is not only common, but our daily " news, to hear something which you have said or " done with your usual fidelity in the support of my " honour and dignity. Yet that same part of your " letter affected me with the most sensible grief " which my mind could possibly receive. For you " compliment him so highly for his services to the " republic, and in a strain so suppliant and abject, " that,—what shall I say? I am ashamed of the " wretched state to which we are reduced—yet it " must be said—you recommend my safety to him! " to which, what death is not preferable? and plainly " shew, that our servitude is not yet abolished, but " our master only changed. Recollect your words, " and deny them, if you dare, to be the prayers of a " slave to his king. There is one thing, you say, " which is required and expected from him, that he " would allow those citizens to live in safety, of " whom all honest men and the people of Rome think " well. But what if he will not allow it? Shall " we be the less safe for that? It is better not to " be safe than to be saved by him. For my part, I " can never think all the gods so averse to the pre- " servation of the Roman people, that Octavius " must be entreated for the life of any one citizen; " much less for the deliverers of the world. It is a " pleasure to me to talk thus magnificently; and it " even becomes me to those, who know not either " what to fear for any one, or what to ask of any " one. Can you allow Octavius to have this power, " and yet be his friend? or if you have any value " for me, would you wish to see me at Rome, when " I must first be recommended to the boy, that he

" would permit me to be there? what reason can
" you have to thank him, if you think it necessary
" to beg of him that he would grant and suffer us
" to live in safety? or is it to be reckoned a kind-
" ness, that he chooses to see himself, rather than
" Antony, in the condition to have such petitions
" addressed to him? one may supplicate, indeed,
" the successor, but never the abolisher of a ty-
" ranny, that those who have deserved well of the
" republic may be safe.. It was this weakness and
" despair, not more blameable, indeed, in you than
" in all, which first pushed Cæsar to the ambition
" of reigning; and, after his death, encouraged An-
" tony to think of seizing his place; and has now
" raised this boy so high, that you judge it neces-
" sary to address your prayers to him for the pre-
" servation of men of our rank; and that we can
" be saved only by the mercy of one, scarce yet a
" man, and by no other means. But if we had re-
" membered ourselves to be Romans, these infa-
" mous men would not be more daring to aim at
" dominion than we to repel it: nor would Antony
" be more encouraged by Cæsar's reign, than de-
" terred by his fate. How can you, a consular se-
" nator, and the avenger of so many treasons (by
" suppressing which you have but postponed our
" ruin, I fear, for a time), reflect on what you have
" done, and yet approve these things, or bear them
" so tamely, as to seem, at least, to approve them?
" for what particular grudge had you to Antony?
" no other, but that he assumed all this to himself;
" that our lives should be begged of him; our
" safety be precarious, from whom he had received
" his liberty; and the republic depend on his will
" and pleasure. You thought it necessary to take
" arms, to prevent him from tyrannizing at this rate;
" but was it your intent, that, by preventing him,
" we might sue to another, who would suffer him-
" self to be advanced into his place; or that the re-

" public might be free and mistress of itself? as if " our quarrel was not, perhaps, to slavery, but to the " conditions of it. But we might have had, not " only an easy master in Antony, if we would have " been content with that, but whatever share with " him we pleased of favours and honours. For " what could he deny to those, whose patience, he " saw, was the best support of his government? but " nothing was of such value to us, that we would " sell our faith and our liberty for it. This very " boy, whom the name of Cæsar seems to incite " against the destroyers of Cæsar, at what rate " would he value it (if there was any room to traffic " with him) to be enabled, by our help, to maintain " his present power; since we have a mind to live, " and to be rich, and to be called consulars? But " then Cæsar must have perished in vain: for what " reason had we to rejoice at his death, if after it " we were still to continue slaves? Let other peo- " ple be as indolent as they please; but may the " gods and goddesses deprive me sooner of any " thing than the resolution, not to allow to the heir " of him, whom I killed, what I did not allow to " the man himself; nor would suffer, even in my " father, were he living—to have more power than " the laws and the senate. How can you imagine, " that any one can be free under him, without whose " leave there is no place for us in that city? or how " is it possible for you, after all, to obtain what you " ask? You ask, that he would allow us to be safe. " Shall we then receive safety, think you, when we " receive life? But how can we receive it, if we first " part with our honour and liberty? Do you fancy, " that to live at Rome is to be safe? It is the thing, " and not the place, which must secure that to me: " for I was never safe while Cæsar lived, till I had " resolved on that attempt: nor can I, in any place, " live in exile, as long as I hate slavery and affronts " above all other evils. Is not this to fall back again

" into the same state of darkness; when he, who has
" taken upon him the name of the tyrant, (though
" in the cities of Greece, when the tyrants are de-
" stroyed, their children also perish with them,)
" must be entreated, that the avengers of tyranny
" may be safe? Can I ever wish to see that city,
" or think it a city, which would not accept liberty
" when offered, and even forced upon it, but has
" more dread of the name of their late king, in the
" person of a boy, than confidence in itself; though
" it has seen that very king taken off, in the height
" of all his power, by the virtue of a few? As for
" me, do not recommend me any more to your Cæ-
" sar, nor indeed yourself, if you will hearken to
" me. You set a very high value on the few years
" which remain to you at that age, if, for the sake
" of them, you can supplicate that boy. But take
" care, after all, lest what you have done, and are
" doing, so laudably against Antony, instead of
" being praised, as the effect of a great mind, be
" charged to the account of your fear; for, if you
" are so pleased with Octavius, as to petition him for
" our safety, you will be thought not to have dis-
" liked a master, but to have wanted a more friendly
" one. As to your praising him for the things that
" he has hitherto done, I entirely approve it; for they
" deserved to be praised, provided that he under-
" took them to repel other men's power, not to ad-
" vance his own. But, when you adjudge him not
" only to have this power, but that you ought to
" submit to it so far as to entreat him that he would
" not destroy us, you pay him too great a recom-
" pence; for you ascribe that very thing to him,
" which the republic seemed to enjoy through him;
" nor does it ever enter into your thoughts, that if
" Octavius be worthy of any honours, because he
" wages war with Antony, that those, who extir-
" pated the very evil of which these are but the
" relics, can never be sufficiently requited by the

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

"Roman people, though they were to heap upon "them every thing which they could bestow: but "see how much stronger people's fears are than "their memories, because Antony still lives, and is "in arms! As to Cæsar, all that could and ought "to be done is past, and cannot be recalled. Is "Octavius, then, a person of so great importance, "that the people of Rome are to expect from him "what he will determine upon us? or are we of so "little, than any single man is to be entreated for "our safety? As for me, may I never return to "you, if ever I either supplicate any man, or do "not restrain those who are disposed to do it, from "supplicating for themselves; or I will remove to "a distance from all such, who can be slaves, and "fancy myself at Rome, wherever I can live free, "and shall pity you, whose fond desire of life, nei-"ther age, nor honours, nor the example of other "men's virtue, can moderate. For my part, I shall "ever think myself happy, as long as I can please "myself with the persuasion that my piety has been "fully requited. For what can be happier than for "a man, conscious of virtuous acts, and content "with liberty, to despise all human affairs? Yet "I will never yield to those who are fond of yield-"ing, or to be conquered by those who are willing "to be conquered themselves; but will first try "and attempt every thing; nor ever desist from "dragging our city out of slavery. If such fortune "attends me as I ought to have, we shall all re-"joice; if not I shall rejoice myself. For how "could this life be spent better, than in acts and "thoughts which tend to make my countrymen "free? I beg and beseech you, Cicero, not to de-"sert the cause through weariness or diffidence: "repelling present evils, have your eye always on "the future, lest they insinuate themselves before "you are aware. Consider that the fortitude and "courage with which you delivered the republic,

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

" when consul, and now again when consular, are " nothing without constancy and equability. The " case of tried virtue, I own, is harder than of un- " tried.: we require services from it as debts, and " if any thing disappoints us, we blame with resent- " ment, as if we had been deceived. Wherefore, " for Cicero to withstand Antony, though it be a " part highly commendable, yet because such a " consul seemed, of course, to promise us such a " consular, nobody wonders at it: but if the same " Cicero, in the case of others, should waver at " last in that resolution, which he exerted with such " firmness and greatness of mind against Antony, " he would deprive himself not only of the hopes of " future glory, but forfeit even that which is past: " for nothing is great in itself, but what flows from " the result of our judgment; nor does it become " any man, more than you, to love the republic, " and to be the patron of liberty, on the account " either of your natural talents, or your former acts, " or the wishes and expectation of all men. Octa- " vius, therefore, must not be entreated to suffer us " to live in safety. Do you rather rouse yourself " so far, as to think that city, in which you have " acted the noblest part, free and flourishing, as " long as there are leaders still to the people, to " resist the designs of traitors."*

* Ad Brut. 16.

N. B.—There is a passage indeed in Brutus's letter to Atticus, where he intimates a reason of his complaint against Cicero, which was certainly a just one, if the fact of which he complains had been true; that Cicero had reproached Casca with the murder of Cæsar, and called him an assassin. " I do not know," says he, " what I can " write to you, but this—that the ambition and licentiousness of the boy has been " inflamed, rather than restrained, by Cicero, who carries his indulgence of him to " such a length, as not to refrain from abuses upon Casca, and such as must return " doubly upon himself, who has put to death more citizens than one, and must first " own himself to be an assassin, before he can reproach Casca with what he objects " to him." [Ep. ad Brut. 17.] Manutius professes himself unable to conceive how Cicero should ever call Casca a murderer, yet cannot collect any thing less from Brutus's words. But the thing is impossible, and inconsistent with every word that Cicero had been saying, and every act that he had been doing, from the time of Cæsar's death: and in relation particularly to Casca, we have seen above, how he refused to enter into any measures with Octavius, but upon the express condition

A. Urb. 710, Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

If we compare these two letters, we shall perceive in Cicero's an extensive view and true judgment of things, tempered with the greatest politeness and affection for his friend, and an unwillingness to disgust, where he thought it necessary even to blame. In Brutus's, a churlish and morose arrogance, claiming infinite honours to himself, yet allowing none to any body else; insolently chiding and dictating to one as much superior to him in wisdom as he was in years; the whole turning upon that romantic maxim of the stoics, enforced without any regard to times and circumstances—that a wise man has a sufficiency of all things within himself. There are, indeed, many noble sentiments in it, worthy of old Rome, which Cicero, in a proper season, would have recommended as warmly as he; yet they were not principles to act upon in a conjuncture so critical; and the rigid application of them is the less excusable in Brutus, because he himself did not always practise what he professed, but was too apt to forget both the stoic and the Roman.

Octavius had no sooner settled the affairs of the city, and subdued the senate to his mind, than he marched back towards Gaul, to meet Antony and Lepidus, who had already passed the Alps, and brought their armies into Italy, in order to have a personal interview with him, which had been privately concerted, for settling the terms of a triple league, and dividing the power and provinces of the empire among themselves. All the three were na-

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of his suffering Casca to take quiet possession of the tribunate: it is certain, therefore, that Brutus had either been misinformed, or was charging Cicero with the consequential meaning of some saying, which was never intended by him: in advising Casca, perhaps, to manage Octavius, in that height of his power, with more temper and moderation, lest he should otherwise be provoked to consider him as an assassin, and treat him as such; for an intimation of that kind would have been sufficient to the fierce spirit of Brutus, for taking it as a direct condemnation of Casca's act of stabbing Cæsar, to which Cicero had always given the highest applause.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

tural enemies to each other, competitors for empire, and aiming severally to possess what could not be obtained but with the ruin of the rest; their meeting, therefore, was not to establish any real amity or lasting concord, for that was impossible, but to suspend their own quarrels for the present, and with common forces to oppress their common enemies, the friends of liberty and the republic; without which, all their several hopes and ambitious views must inevitably be blasted.

The place appointed for the interview was a small island, about two miles from Bononia, formed by the River Rhenus, which runs near to that city:* here they met as men of their character must necessarily meet, not without jealousy and suspicion of danger from each other; being all attended by their choicest troops, each with five legions, disposed in separate camps, within sight of the island. Lepidus entered it the first, as an equal friend to the other two, to see that the place was clear, and free from treachery; and when he had given the signal agreed upon, Antony and Octavius advanced from the opposite banks of the river, and passed into the island, by bridges, which they left guarded on each side, by three hundred of their own men. Their first care, instead of embracing, was to search one another, whether they had not brought daggers concealed under their clothes; and when that ceremony was over, Octavius took his seat betwixt the other two, in the most honourable place, on the account of his being consul.

In this situation they spent three days in a close conference to adjust the plan of their accommodation; the substance of which was, that the three should be invested jointly with supreme power, for the term of five years, with the title of Triumvirs, for settling the state of the republic: that they

* Vid. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. l. 1. c. 28. p. 187.

should act in all cases by common consent; nominate the magistrates and governors, both at home and abroad, and determine all affairs relating to the public by their sole will and pleasure: that Octavius should have, for his peculiar province, Africa, with Sicily, Sardinia, and the other islands of the Mediterranean; Lepidus, Spain, with the Narbonese Gaul; Antony, the other two Gauls, on both sides of the Alps; and to put them all upon a level, both in title and authority, that Octavius should resign the consulship to Ventidius, for the remainder of the year: that Antony and Octavius should prosecute the war against Brutus and Cassius, each of them at the head of twenty legions, and Lepidus, with three legions, be left to guard the city; and, at the end of the war, that eighteen cities or colonies, the best and richest of Italy, together with their lands and districts, should be taken from their owners, and assigned to the perpetual possession of the soldiers, as the reward of their faithful services. These conditions were published to their several armies, and received by them with acclamations of joy, and mutual gratulations for this happy union of their chiefs; which, at the desire of the soldiers, was ratified likewise by a marriage, agreed to be consummated between Octavius and Claudia, the daughter of Antony's wife Fulvia, by her first husband P. Clodius.

The last thing that they adjusted was the list of a proscription, which they were determined to make of their enemies. This, as the writers tell us, occasioned much difficulty and warm contests amongst them; till each of them, in his turn, consented to sacrifice some of his best friends to the revenge and resentment of his colleagues. The whole list is said to have consisted of three hundred senators and two thousand knights, all doomed to die, for a crime the most unpardonable to tyrants—their adherence to the cause of liberty. They reserved the publica-

tion of the general list to their arrival at Rome, excepting only a few of the most obnoxious, the heads of the republican party, about seventeen in all, the chief of whom was Cicero. These they marked out for immediate destruction, and sent their emissaries away, directly, to surprise and murder them, before any notice could reach them of their danger: four of this number were presently taken, and killed, in the company of their friends, and the rest hunted out by the soldiers in private houses and temples; which presently filled the city with an universal terror and consternation, as if it had been taken by an enemy: so that the consul, Pedius, was forced to run about the streets all the night, to quiet the minds, and appease the fears, of the people; and, as soon as it was light, published the names of the seventeen who were principally sought for, with an assurance of safety and indemnity to all others: but he himself was so shocked and fatigued, by the horror of this night's work, that he died the day following.*

We have no hint, from any of Cicero's letters (for none remain to us of so low a date), what his sentiments were on this interview of the three chiefs, or what resolution he had taken in consequence of it. He could not but foresee that it must needs be fatal to him, if it passed to the satisfaction of Antony and Lepidus; for he had several times declared, that he expected the last severity from them, if ever they got the better. But whatever he had cause to apprehend, it is certain, that it was still in his power to avoid it, by going over to Brutus, in Macedonia; but he seems to have thought that remedy worse than the evil; and had so great an abhorrence of entering again, in his advanced age, into a civil war, and so little value for the few years of life which remained to him, that he declares it a thou-

* App. l. 4. init. Dio, p. 326. Plut. in Anton. et Cic. Vell. Pat. 2. 65.

sand times better to die, than to seek his safety from camps:* and he was the more indifferent about what might happen to himself, since his son was removed from all immediate danger, by being already with Brutus.

The old historians endeavour to persuade us, that Cæsar did not give him up to the revenge of his colleagues without the greatest reluctance, and after a struggle of two days to preserve him:† but all that tenderness was artificial, and a part assumed, to give the better colour to his desertion of him. For Cicero's death was the natural effect of their union; and a necessary sacrifice to the common interest of the three: those who met to destroy liberty, must come determined to destroy him; since his authority was too great to be suffered in an enemy, and experience had shewn, that nothing could make him a friend to the oppressors of his country.

Cæsar, therefore, was pleased with it, undoubtedly, as much as the rest, and when his pretended squeamishness was over-ruled, shewed himself more cruel and bloody, in urging the proscription, than either of the other two.‡ Nothing, says Velleius, was so shameful on this occasion as that Cæsar should be forced to proscribe any man; or that Cicero, especially, should be proscribed by him.§ But there was no force in the case: for though to save Cæsar's honour, and to extort, as it were, Cicero from him, Lepidus gave up his own brother Paulus; and Antony his uncle, L. Cæsar, who were both actually put into the list; yet neither of them lost

* Reipub. vicem dolebo, quæ immortalis esse debet; mihi quidem quantulum reliqui est? [Ad Brut. x.] τρίον ergo in castra? millies mori melius, huic præsertim ætati: [Ad Att. 14. 22.] sed abesse hanc ætatem longe a sepulchro negant oportere. Ib. 16. 7.

† Plut. in Cic. Vell. Pat. 2. 66.

‡ Restitit aliquandiu Collegis, ne qua fieret proscriptio, sed inceptam utroque acerbius exercuit, &c. Sueton. Aug. 27.

§ Nihil tam indignum illo tempore fuit, quam quod aut Cæsar aliquem proscribere coactus est, aut ab illo Cicero proscriptus est. Vell. Pat. 2. 66.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

their lives, but were protected from any harm by the power of their relations.*

If we look back a little, to take a general view of the conduct of these triumvirs, we shall see Antony roused, at once, by Cæsar's death, from the midst of pleasure and debauch, and a most abject obsequiousness to Cæsar's power, forming the true plan of his interest, and pursuing it with a surprising vigour and address: till, after many and almost insuperable difficulties, he obtained the sovereign dominion, which he aimed at. Lepidus was the chief instrument that he made use of; whom he employed very successfully at home, till he found himself in condition to support his pretensions alone, and then sent to the other side of the Alps, that, in case of any disaster in Italy, he might be provided with a secure resource in his army. By this management he had ordered his affairs so artfully, that, by conquering at Modena, he would have made himself, probably, the sole master of Rome; while the only difference of being conquered, was to admit two partners with him into the empire: the one of whom, at least, he was sure always to govern.

Octavius's conduct was not less politic or vigorous: he had great parts, and an admirable genius, with a dissimulation sufficient to persuade, that he had good inclinations too. As his want of years and authority made it impossible for him to succeed immediately to his uncle's power, so his first business was to keep the place vacant, till he should be more ripe for it; and to give the exclusion, in the meanwhile, to every body else. With this view, he acted the republican with great gravity; put himself under the direction of Cicero; and was wholly governed by his advice, as far as his interest carried him; that is, to depress Antony, and drive him out of Italy; who was his immediate and most dangerous rival. Here he stopped short, and paused

* Appian. l. 4. 610. Dio, l. 47. 330.

awhile, to consider what new measures this new state of things would suggest; when, by the unexpected death of the two consuls, finding himself, at once, the master of every thing at home, and Antony, by the help of Lepidus, rising again the stronger from his fall, he saw presently, that his best chance for empire, was to content himself with a share of it, till he should be in condition to seize the whole; and from the same policy with which he joined himself with the republic, to destroy Antony, he now joined with Antony, to oppress the republic, as the best means of securing and advancing his own power.

Lepidus was the dupe of them both; a vain, weak, inconstant man; incapable of empire, yet aspiring to the possession of it; and abusing the most glorious opportunity of serving his country, to the ruin both of his country and himself. His wife was the sister of M. Brutus, and his true interest lay in adhering to that alliance: for if, by the advice of Laterensis, he had joined with Plancus and D. Brutus, to oppress Antony, and give liberty to Rome, the merit of that service, added to the dignity of his family and fortunes, would necessarily have made him the first citizen of a free republic. But his weakness deprived him of that glory: he flattered himself, that the first share of power, which he seemed at present to possess, would give him, likewise, the first share of empire: not considering, that military power depends on the reputation and abilities of him who possesses it: in which, as his colleagues far excelled him, so they would be sure always to eclipse, and whenever they thought it proper, to destroy him. This he found afterwards to be the case, when Cæsar forced him to beg his life upon his knees, though at the head of twenty legions; and deposed him from that dignity which he knew not how to sustain.*

* Spoliata, quam tueri non poterat, dignitas. Vell. Pat. 2. 8.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

Cicero was at his Tusculan villa, with his brother and nephew, when he first received the news of the proscription, and of their being included in it. It was the design of the triumvirate to keep it a secret, if possible, to the moment of execution; in order to surprise those whom they had destined to destruction, before they were aware of the danger, or had time to escape. But some of Cicero's friends found means to give him early notice of it; upon which he set forward presently, with his brother and nephew, towards Astura, the nearest villa which he had upon the sea, with intent to transport themselves directly out of the reach of their enemies. But Quintus, being wholly unprepared for so sudden a voyage, resolved to turn back with his son to Rome, in confidence of lying concealed there, till they could provide money and necessaries for their support abroad. Cicero, in the meanwhile, found a vessel ready for him at Astura, in which he presently embarked: but the winds being cross and turbulent, and the sea wholly uneasy to him, after he had sailed about two leagues along the coast, he landed at Circæum, and spent a night near that place, in great anxiety and irresolution: the question was, what course he should steer, and whether he should fly to Brutus or to Cassius, or to S. Pompeius; but after all his deliberations, none of them pleased him so much as the expedient of dying:* so that, as Plutarch says, he had some thoughts of returning to the city, and killing himself in Cæsar's house; in order to leave the guilt and curse of his blood upon Cæsar's perfidy and ingratitude: but the importunity of his servants prevailed with him to sail forwards to Cajeta, where he went again on shore, to repose himself in his Formian villa, about a mile from the coast: weary of life and the sea, and declaring, that he would die in that

* Cremutius Cordus ait, Ciceroni, cum cogitasset, unumne Brutum an Cassium, an S. Pompeium peteret, omnia displicuisse præter mortem. Senec. Suasor. 6.

country, which he had so often saved.* Here he slept soundly for several hours; though as some writers tell us, a great number of crows were fluttering all the while, and making a strange noise about his windows, as if to rouse and warn him of his approaching fate; and that one of them made its way into the chamber, and pulled away his very bedclothes; till his slaves, admonished by this prodigy, and ashamed to see brute creatures more solicitous for his safety than themselves, forced him into his litter or portable chair, and carried him away towards the ship, through the private ways and walks of his woods; having just heard, that soldiers were already come into the country in quest of him, and not far from the villa. As soon as they were gone, the soldiers arrived at the house, and perceiving him to be fled, pursued immediately towards the sea, and overtook him in the wood. Their leader was one Popilius Lænas, a tribune or colonel of the army, whom Cicero had formerly defended and preserved in a capital cause. As soon as the soldiers appeared, the servants prepared themselves to fight, being resolved to defend their master's life at the hazard of their own: but Cicero commanded them to set him down, and to make no resistance:† then looking upon his executioners with a presence and firmness, which almost daunted them, and thrusting his neck as forwardly as he could out of the litter, he bade them do their work, and take what they wanted: upon which they presently cut off his head, and both his hands, and returned with them, in all haste and great joy, towards Rome, as the most agreeable present which they could possible carry to Antony. Popilius charged himself with the con-

* Tædium tandem eum et fugæ et vitæ cepit: regressusque ad superiorem villam, quæ paullo plus mille passibus a mari abest, moriar, inquit, in patria, sæpe servata. Liv. Fragm. apud Senec. Suasor. 1. vid. it. Plut. Cic.

† Satis constat servos fortiter fideliterque paratos fuisse ad dimicandum: ipsum deponi lecticam, et quietos pati, quod sors iniqua cogeret, jussisse. Liv. Fragm. ib.

A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss.—C. Cæsar Octavianus. Q. Pedius.

veyance, without reflecting on the infamy of carrying that head which had saved his own:* he found Antony in the Forum, surrounded with guards and crowds of people: but upon shewing from a distance the spoils which he brought, he was rewarded upon the spot, with the honour of a crown, and about eight thousand pounds sterling. Antony ordered the head to be fixed upon the rostra, between the two hands: a sad spectacle to the city, and what drew tears from every eye; to see those mangled members, which used to exert themselves so gloriously from that place, in defence of their lives, the fortunes, and the liberties of the Roman people, so lamentably exposed to the scorn of sycophants and traitors. The deaths of the rest, says an historian of that age, caused only a private and particular sorrow, but Cicero's an universal one:† it was a triumph over the republic itself; and seemed to confirm and establish the perpetual slavery of Rome. Antony considered it as such, and, satiated with Cicero's blood, declared the proscription at an end.

He was killed on the seventh of December, about ten days from the settlement of the triumvirate; after he had lived sixty-three years, eleven months, and five days.‡

SECTION XII.

THE story of Cicero's death continued fresh on the minds of the Romans for many ages after it; and was delivered down to posterity, with all its

* Ea Sarcina, tanquam opimis spoliis alacer in urbem reversus est. Neque ei scelestum portanti onus succurrit, illud se caput ferre, quod pro capite ejus quondam peroraverat. Val. Max. 5. 3.

† Cæterorumque cædes privatos luctus excitaverunt; illa una communem—[Cremutius Cordus apud Senec.] Civitas lacrymas tenere non potuit, quum recisum Ciceronis caput in illis suis rostris videretur. L. Flor. 4. 6.

‡ Vid. Plut. in Cic. Vell. Pat. 2. 64. Liv. Fragm. apud Senec. Appian. l. 4. 601. Dio, l. 47. p. 330. Pighii Annal. ad A. U. 710.

circumstances, as one of the most affecting and memorable events of their history: so that the spot on which it happened, seems to have been visited by travellers with a kind of religious reverence.* The odium of it fell chiefly on Antony; yet it left a stain of perfidy and ingratitude also on Augustus; which explains the reason of that silence which is observed about him by the writers of that age; and why his name is not so much as mentioned, either by Horace or Virgil. For though his character would have furnished a glorious subject for many noble lines, yet it was no subject for court poets; since the very mention of him must have been a satire on the prince; especially while Antony lived; among the sycophants of whose court, it was fashionable to insult his memory by all the methods of calumny that wit and malice could invent: nay Virgil, on an occasion that could hardly fail of bringing him to his mind, instead of doing justice to his merit, chose to do an injustice rather to Rome itself, by yielding the superiority of eloquence to the Greeks, which they themselves had been forced to yield to Cicero.†

Livy, however, whose candour made Augustus call him a Pompeian,‡ while, out of complaisance to the times, he seems to extenuate the crime of Cicero's murder, yet, after a high encomium of his virtues, declares, that to praise him as he deserved required the eloquence of Cicero himself.§ Augustus, too, as Plutarch tells us, happening one day to catch his grandson reading one of Cicero's books, which, for fear of the emperor's displeasure, the boy endeavoured to hide under his gown, took the book into his hands, and turning over a great part of it,

* Sæpe Clodio Ciceronem expellenti et Antonio occidenti, videmur irasci. Sen. de ira. 2. 2.
Κικέρωνα—φεύγοντα εἰς ἴδιον χωρίον, ὁ καθ' ἱστορίαν τοῦδε τοῦ πάθους εἶδον. App. p. 600.

† —Orabunt causas melius, &c. Æn. 6. 849.

‡ T. Livius—Cn. Pompeium tantis laudibus tulit, ut Pompeianum cum Augustus appellaret. Tacit. Ann. 4. 34.

§ —Si quis tamen virtutibus vitia pensarit, vir magnus, acer, memorabilis fuit, et in cujus laudes sequendas Ciceronc laudatore opus fuerit. Liv. Fragm. apud Senec. Suasor. 6.

gave it back again, and said, This was a learned man, my child, and a lover of his country.*

In the succeeding generation, as the particular envy to Cicero subsided, by the death of those whom private interests and personal quarrels had engaged to hate him when living, and defame him when dead, so his name and memory began to shine out in its proper lustre: and in the reign even of Tiberius, when an eminent senator and historian, Cremutius Cordus, was condemned to die for praising Brutus, yet Paterculus could nor forbear breaking out into the following warm expostulation with Antony, on the subject of Cicero's death: "Thou hast done "nothing, Antony; hast done nothing, I say, by set- "ting a price on that Divine and illustrious head, "and by a detestable reward, procuring the death "of so great a consul and preserver of the republic. "Thou hast snatched from Cicero a troublesome "being; a declining age; a life more miserable un- "der thy dominion, than death itself; but, so far "from diminishing the glory of his deeds and say- "ings, thou hast increased it. He lives, and will "live, in the memory of all ages; and, as long as "this system of nature, whether by chance or pro- "vidence, or what way soever formed, which he "alone, of all the Romans, comprehended in his "mind, and illustrated by his eloquence, shall re- "main entire, it will draw the praises of Cicero "along with it: and all posterity will admire his "writings against thee, curse thy act against him."†

From this period, all the Roman writers, whether poets or historians, seem to vie with each other in celebrating the praises of Cicero, as the most illus-

* Plut. vit. Cic. There is another story of the same kind recorded by Macrobius, to shew Augustus's moderation with regard also to Cato: that Augustus being one day in the house which had belonged to Cato, where the master of it, out of compliment to his great guest, took occasion to reflect on Cato's perverseness, he stopped him short, by saying, that he would suffer no change in the constitution of his city, was a good citizen, and honest man: but by this character of Cato's honesty, he gave a severe wound to his own, who not only changed but usurped the government of his country. Macrob. Saturn. 2. 4.

† Vell. Pat. 2. 66.

trious of all their patriots, and the parent of the Roman wit and eloquence; who had done more honour to his country, by his writings, than all their conquerors by their arms, and extended the bounds of their learning beyond those of their empire.* So that their very emperors, near three centuries after his death, began to reverence him in the class of their inferior deities:† a rank which he would have preserved to this day, if he had happened to live in papal Rome, where he could not have failed, as Erasmus says, from the innocence of his life, of obtaining the honour and title of a saint.‡

As to his person, he was tall and slender, with a neck particularly long; yet his features were regular and manly; preserving a comeliness and dignity to the last, with a certain air of cheerfulness and serenity, that imprinted both affection and respect.§ His constitution was naturally weak, yet was so confirmed by his management of it, as to enable him to support all the fatigues of the most active, as well as the most studious life, with perpetual health and vigour. The care that he employed upon his body consisted chiefly in bathing and rubbing, with a few turns every day in his gardens, for the refreshment of his voice from the labour of the bar:‖ yet, in the summer, he generally gave himself the exercise of a journey, to visit his several estates and villas in different parts of Italy. But his principal instrument of health, was diet and temperance: by these, he preserved himself from all violent distempers; and, when he happened to be attacked by any slight in-

* Facundiæ, latiarumque literarum parens—atque—omnium triumphorum lauream adepte majorem, quanto plus est ingenii Romani terminos in tantum promovisse, quam imperii. Plin. Hist. 7. 30.

Qui effecit, ne quorum arma viceramus, eorum ingenio vinceremur. Vell. Pat. 2. 34.

† Lamprid. vit. Alex. Sever. c. 31.

‡ Quem arbitror, si Christianam philosophiam didicisset, in eorum numero censendum fuisse, qui nunc ob vitam innocenter pieque transactam, pro Divis honorantur. Erasm. Ciceronian. vers. finem.

§ Ei quidem facies decora ad senectutem, prosperaque permansit valetudo. Asin. Poll. apud Senec. Suasor. 6.

‖ Cum recreandæ vocluæ causa, mihi necesse esset ambulare. Ad Att. 2. 23. Plut. in vit.

disposition, used to enforce the severity of his abstinence, and starve it presently by fasting.*

In his clothes and dress, which the wise have usually considered as an index of the mind, he observed, what he prescribes in his Book of Offices, a modesty and decency, adapted to his rank and character: a perpetual cleanliness, without the appearance of pains; free from the affectation of singularity, and avoiding the extremes of a rustic negligence, and foppish delicacy:† both of which are equally contrary to true dignity; the one implying an ignorance, or illiberal contempt of it; the other a childish pride and ostentation of proclaiming our pretensions to it.

In his domestic and social life, his behaviour was very amiable: he was a most indulgent parent, a sincere and zealous friend, a kind and generous master. His letters are full of the tenderest expressions of his love for his children; in whose endearing conversation, as he often tells us, he used to drop all his cares, and relieve himself from all his struggles in the senate and the Forum.‡ The same affection, in an inferior degree, was extended also to his slaves; when, by their fidelity and services, they had recommended themselves to his favour. We have seen a remarkable instance of it in Tiro, whose case was no otherwise different from the rest, than as it was distinguished by the superiority of his merit. In one of his letters to Atticus, "I have nothing "more," says he, "to write; and my mind, indeed, "is somewhat ruffled at present; for Sositheus, my "reader, is dead; a hopeful youth, which has af- "flicted me more than one would imagine the death "of a slave ought to do."§

* Cum quidem biduum ita jejunus fuissem, ut ne aquam quidem gustaram. Ep. Fam. 7. 26. vid. Plut.

† Adhibenda munditia non odiosa, neque exquisita nimis; tantum quæ fugiat agrestem et inhumanam negligentiam. Eadem ratio est habenda vestitus: in quo, sicut in plerisque rebus, mediocritas optima est. De Offic. 1. 36.

‡ Ut tantum requietis habeam, quantum cum uxore, et filiola, et mellito Cicerone consumitur. Ad Att. 1. 18.

§ Nam puer festivus, anagnostes noster, Sositheus decesserat, neque plus quam servi mors debere videbatur, commoverat. Ad Att. 1. 12.

He entertained very high notions of friendship, and of its excellent use and benefit to human life; which he has beautifully illustrated in his entertaining treatise on that subject, where he lays down no other rules, than what he exemplified by his practice. For in all the variety of friendships, in which his eminent rank engaged him, he was never charged with deceiving, deserting, or even slighting any one, whom he had once called his friend, or esteemed an honest man. It was his delight to advance their prosperity, to relieve their adversity; the same friend to both fortunes; but more zealous only in the bad, where his help was the most wanted, and his services the most disinterested; looking upon it not as a friendship, but a sordid traffic and merchandise of benefits, where good offices are to be weighed by a nice estimate of gain and loss.* He calls gratitude the mother of virtues: reckons it the most capital of all duties; and uses the words, grateful and good, as terms synonymous, and inseparably united in the same character. His writings abound with sentiments of this sort, as his life did with the examples of them;† so that one of his friends, in apologizing for the importunity of a request, observes to him, with great truth, that the tenor of his life would be a sufficient excuse for it: since he had established such a custom, of doing every thing for his friends, that they no longer requested, but claimed a right to command him.‡

Yet he was not more generous to his friends than placable to his enemies; readily pardoning the greatest injuries upon the slightest submission; and

* Ubi illa sancta amicitia? si non ipse amicus per se amatur toto pectore. [de Leg. 1. 18.] quam si ad fructum nostrum referemus, non ad illius commoda, quem diligimus, non erit ista amicitia, sed mercatura quædam utilitatum suarum. De Nat. Deor. 1. 44.

† Cum omnibus virtutibus me affectum esse cupiam, tamen nihil est quod malim, quam me et gratum esse et videri. Est enim hæc una virtus non solum maxima, sed etiam mater virtutum omnium—quæ potest esse jucunditas vitæ sublatis amicitiis? quæ porro amicitia potest esse inter ingratos? Pro Planc. 33. de Fin. 2. 22.

‡ Nam quod ita consueris pro amicis laborare, non jam sic sperant abs te, sed etiam sic imperant tibi familiares. Ep. Fam. 6. 7.

though no man ever had greater abilities or opportunities of revenging himself, yet, when it was in his power to hurt, he sought out reasons to forgive: and whenever he was invited to it, never declined a reconciliation with his most inveterate enemies; of which there are numerous instances in his history. He declared nothing to be more laudable and worthy of a great man, than placability; and laid it down, for a natural duty, to moderate our revenge, and observe a temper in punishing; and held repentance to be a sufficient ground for remitting it: and it was one of his sayings, delivered to a public assembly, that his enmities were mortal, his friendships immortal.*

His manner of living was agreeable to the dignity of his character, splendid and noble: his house was open to all the learned strangers and philosophers of Greece and Asia: several of whom were constantly entertained in it, as part of his family, and spent their whole lives with him.† His levee was perpetually crowded with multitudes of all ranks; even Pompey, himself, not disdaining to frequent it. The greatest part came, not only to pay their compliments, but to attend him on days of business to the senate or the Forum; where, upon any debate or transaction of moment, they constantly waited to conduct him home again: but on ordinary days, when these morning visits were over, as they usually were before ten, he retired to his books, and shut himself up in his library, without seeking any other diversion, but what his children afforded to the

* Est enim ulciscendi et puniendi modus. Atque haud scio, an satis sit, eum, qui lacessierit, injuriæ suæ pœnitere. [de Offic. 1. xi.] nihil enim laudabilius, nihil magno viro dignius, placabilitate et clementia. [Ib. 25.]

Cum parcere vel lædere potuissem, ignoscendi quærebam causas, non puniendi occasiones. Fragm. Cic. ex. Marcellino.

Neque vero me pœnitet mortales inimicitias, sempiternas amicitias habere. Pro C. Rabir. Post. 12.

† Doctissimorum hominum familiaritates, quibus semper domus nostra floruit, et Principes illi, Diodotus, Philo, Antiochus, Posidonius, a quibus instituti sumus. De Nat. Deor. 1. 3.

Eram cum Diodoto Stoico; qui cum habitavisset apud me, mecumque vixisset, nuper est domi meæ mortuus. Brut. 433.

short intervals of his leisure.* His supper was his greatest meal; and the usual season with all the great of enjoying their friends at table, which was frequently prolonged to a late hour of the night; yet he was out of his bed every morning before it was light; and never used to sleep again at noon, as all others generally did, and as it is commonly practised in Rome to this day.†

But though he was so temperate and studious, yet, when he was engaged to sup with others, either at home or abroad, he laid aside his rules, and forgot the invalid; and was gay and sprightly, and the very soul of the company. When friends were met together, to heighten the comforts of social life, he thought it inhospitable, not to contribute his share to their common mirth, or to damp it by a churlish reservedness. But he was really a lover of cheerful entertainments; being of a nature remarkably facetious, and singularly turned to raillery:‡ a talent, which was of great service to him at the bar, to correct the petulance of an adversary, relieve the satiety of a tedious cause, divert the minds of the judges, and mitigate the rigour of a sentence, by making both the bench and audience merry at the expense of the accuser.§

This use of it was always thought fair, and greatly applauded in public trials: but in private conversations, he was charged, sometimes, with pushing his

* Cum bene completa domus est tempore matutino, cum ad forum stipati gregibus, amicorum descendimus. Ad Att. 1. 18.

Mane salutamus domi bonos viros multos—ubi salutatio defluxit litteris me involvo—[Ep. Fam. 9. 20.] Cum salutationi nos dedimus amicorum—abdo me in Bibliothecam. Ep. Fam. 7. 28.

Post horam quartam molesti cæteri non sunt. Ad Att. 2. 14.

† Nunc quidem propter intermissionem forensis operæ, et lucubrationes detraxi et meridiationes addidi, quibus uti antea non solebam. De Div. 2. 58.

‡ Ego autem, existimes quod lubet, mirifice capior facetiis, maxime nostratibus. [Ep. Fam. 9. 15.] Nec id ad voluptatem refero, sed ad communitatem vitæ atque victus, remissionemque animorum, quæ maxime sermone efficitur familiari, qui est in conviviis dulcissimus—[ib. 24.] convivio delector. Ibi loquor quod in solum, ut dicitur, et gemitum etiam in risus maximos transfero. [Ib. 26.]

§ —Suavis est et vehementer sæpe utilis jocus et facetiæ—multum in causis persæpe lepore et facetiis profici vidi. De Orat. 2. 54.

Quæ risum judicis movendo et illos tristes solvit affectus, et animum ab intentione rerum frequenter avertit, et aliquando etiam reficit, et a satietate vel a fatigatione renovat. Quintil. l. 6. c. 3.

raillery too far; and, through a consciousness of his superior wit, exerting it often intemperately, without reflecting what cruel wounds his lashes inflicted.* Yet, of all his sarcastical jokes, which are transmitted to us by antiquity, we shall not observe any, but what were pointed against characters, either ridiculous or profligate; such as he despised for their follies, or hated for their vices; and though he might provoke the spleen, and quicken the malice of enemies, more than was consistent with a regard to his own ease, yet he never appears to have hurt or lost a friend, or any one whom he valued, by the levity of jesting.

It is certain that the fame of his wit was as celebrated as that of his eloquence, and that several spurious collections of his sayings were handed about, in Rome, in his life-time;† till his friend Trebonius, after he had been consul, thought it worth while to publish an authentic edition of them, in a volume which he addressed to Cicero himself.‡ Cæsar, likewise, in the height of his power, having taken a fancy to collect the apophthegms, or memorable sayings of eminent men, gave strict orders to all his friends, who used to frequent Cicero, to bring him every thing of that sort, which happened to drop from him in their company.§ But Tiro, Cicero's freed-man, who served him chiefly in his studies and literary affairs, published, after his death, the most perfect collection of his sayings, in three books: where Quintilian, however, wishes that he had been more sparing in the number, and

* Noster vero non solum extra judicia, sed in ipsis etiam orationibus habitus est nimius risus affectator. Ib. vid. Plut.

† Ais enim, ut ego discesserim, omnia omnium dicta—in me conferri. Ep. Fam. 7. 32. it. 9. 16.

‡ Liber iste, quem mihi misisti, quantum habet declarationem amoris tui? primum, quod tibi facetum videtur quicquid ego dixi, quod aliis fortasse non item: deinde, quod illa, sive faceta sunt, sive sic fiunt, narrante te, venustissima. Ep. Fam. 15. 21.

§ Audio Cæsarem, cum volumina jam confecerit ἀποφθεγμάτων, si quod afferatur pro meo, quod meum non sit, rejicere solere—hæc ad illum cum reliquis actis perferuntur; ita enim ipse mandavit. Ep. Fam. 9. 16.

judicious in the choice of them.* None of these books are now remaining, nor any other specimen of the jests, but what are incidentally scattered in different parts of his own and other people's writings: which, as the same judicious critic observes, through the change of taste in different ages, and the want of that action or gesture, which gave the chief spirit to many of them, could never be explained to advantage, though several had attempted it. How much more cold, then, and insipid, must they needs appear to us, who are unacquainted with the particular characters and stories to which they relate, as well as the peculiar fashions, humour, and taste of wit, in that age? Yet, even in these, as Quintilian also tells us, as well as in his other compositions, people would sooner find what they might reject, than what they could add to them.†

He had a great number of fine houses in different parts of Italy; some writers reckon up eighteen; which, excepting the family-seat at Arpinum, seem to have been all purchased or built by himself. They were situated generally near to the sea, and placed at proper distances along the lower coast, between Rome and Pompeii, which was about four leagues beyond Naples, and, for the elegance of structure, and the delights of their situation, are called by him the eyes or the beauties of Italy.‡ Those in which he took the most pleasure, and usually spent some part of every year, were his Tusculum, Antium, Astura, Arpinum; his Formian, Cumæan, Puteolan, and Pompeian villas; all of them large enough for the reception not only of his own family, but of his friends and numerous guests;

* Utinam libertus ejus Tiro, aut alius quisquis fuit, qui res hac de re libro edidit, parcius dictorum numero indulsisset—et plus judicii in eligendis, quam in congerendis studii adhibuisset. Quintil. l. 6. c. 3.

† Qui tamen nunc quoque, ut in omni ejus ingenio, facilius quid rejici, quam quid adjici possit, invenient. Ib. vid. etiam Macrob. Saturn. 2. 1.

‡ Quodque temporis in prædiolis nostris, et belle ædificatis, et satis amœnis consumi potuit, in peregrinatione consumimus.—[Ad Att. 16. 3.] cur ocellos Italiæ, villulas meas non video? Ib. 6.

many of whom, of the first quality, used to pass several days with him, in their excursions from Rome. But, besides these, that may properly be reckoned seats, with large plantations and gardens around them, he had several little inns, as he calls them, or baiting places, on the road, built for his accommodation, in passing from one house to another.*

His Tusculan house had been Sylla's, the dictator, and in one of its apartments had a painting of his memorable victory near Nola, in the Marsic war, in which Cicero had served under him as a volunteer:† it was about four leagues from Rome, on the top of a beautiful hill, covered with the villas of the nobility, and affording an agreeable prospect of the city, and the country around it, with plenty of water flowing through his grounds, in a large stream or canal, for which he paid a rent to the corporation of Tusculum.‡ Its neighbourhood to Rome gave him the opportunity of a retreat, at any hour, from the fatigues of the bar, or the senate, to breathe a little fresh air, and divert himself with his friends or family: so that this was the place in which he took the most delight, and spent the greatest share of his leisure; and, for that reason, improved and adorned it beyond all his other houses.§

When a greater satiety of the city, or a longer vacation in the Forum, disposed him to seek a

* Ego accepi in Diversoriolo Sinuessano, tuas litteras. Ad Att. 14. 8.

† Idque etiam in villa sua Tusculana, quæ postea fuit Ciceronis, Sylla pinxit. Plin. Hist. Nat. 22. 6.

‡ Ego Tusculanis pro Aqua Crabra vectigal pendam, quia a Municipio fundum accepi. Con. Rull. 3. 2.

§ Quæ mihi antea signa misisti,—ea omnia in Tusculanum deportabo.—[Ad Att. 1. 4.] Nos ex omnibus laboribus et molestiis uno illo in loco conquiescimus. [Ib. 5.] Nos Tusculano ita delectamur, ut nobismet ipsis tum denique, cum illo venimus, placeamus. Ib. 6.

The situation of this Tusculan house, which had been built, perhaps, by Sylla, confirms what Seneca has observed of the villas of all the other great captains of Rome—Marius, Pompey, Cæsar; that they were placed always on hills, or the highest ground that they could find, it being thought more military, to command the view of the country beneath them, and that houses so situated had the appearance of a camp, rather than a villa—[Senec. Epist. 51.]—But this delightful spot is now possessed by a convent of monks, called Grotta Ferrata, where they still shew the remains of Cicero's columns and fine buildings, and the ducts of water that flowed through his gardens.

calmer scene, and more undisturbed retirement, he used to remove to Antium, or Astura. At Antium he placed his best collection of books, and, as it was not above thirty miles from Rome, he could have daily intelligence there of every thing that passed in the city. Astura was a little island, at the mouth of a river of the same name, about two leagues further towards the south, between the promontories of Antium and Circæum, and in the view of them both,—a place peculiarly adapted to the purposes of solitude, and a severe retreat,—covered with a thick wood, cut out into shady walks, in which he used to spend the gloomy and splenetic moments of his life.

In the height of summer, the mansion-house, at Arpinum, and the little island adjoining, by the advantage of its groves and cascades, afforded the best defence against the inconvenience of the heats; where, in the greatest that he had ever remembered, we find him refreshing himself, as he writes to his brother, with the utmost pleasure, in the cool stream of his Fibrenus.*

His other villas were situated in the more public parts of Italy, where all the best company of Rome had their houses of pleasure. He had two at Formiæ, a lower and upper villa; the one near to the port of Cajeta, the other upon the mountains adjoining: he had a third on the shore of Baiæ, between the lake Avernus and Puteoli, which he calls his Puteolan: a fourth on the hills of the old Cumæ, called his Cuman villa; and a fifth at Pompeii, four leagues beyond Naples, in a country famed for the purity of its air, fertility of its soil, and delicacy of its fruits. His Puteolan house was built after the plan of the Academy at Athens, and called by that name, being adorned with a portico and a grove, for the same use of philosophical conferences.—Some time after his death, it fell into the hands of

* Ego ex magnis caloribus, non enim meminimus majores, in Arpinati, summa cum amœnitate fluminis, me refeci ludorum diebus. Ad Quint. 3. 1.

Antistius Vetus, who repaired and improved it; when a spring of warm water, which happened to burst out in one part of it, gave occasion to the following epigram, made by Laurea Tullius, one of Cicero's freed-men:

Quo tua Romanæ vindex clarissime linguæ
Sylva loco melius surgere jussa viret,
Atque Academiæ celebratam nomine villam*
Nunc reparat cultu sub potiore Vetus,
Hic etiam apparent lymphæ non ante repertæ,
Languida quæ infuso lumina rore levant.
Nimirum locus ipse sui Ciceronis honori
Hoc dedit, hac fontes cum patefecit ope.
Ut quoniam totum legitur sine fine per orbem,
Sint plures, oculis quæ medeantur, aquæ.*

Where groves, once thine, now with fresh verdure bloom,
Great parent of the eloquence of Rome!
And where thy Academy, favourite seat,
Now to Antistius yields its sweet retreat,
A gushing stream bursts out of wond'rous power,
To heal the eyes, and weaken'd sight restore.
The place, which all its pride from Cicero drew,
Repays this honour, to his memory due;
That, since his works throughout the world are spread,
And with such eagerness, by all are read,
New springs, of healing quality, should rise,
To ease th' increase of labour to the eyes.

The furniture of his houses was suitable to the elegance of his taste and the magnificence of his buildings; his galleries were adorned with statues and paintings of the best Grecian masters, and his

* Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 31. 2.

This villa was afterwards an imperial palace, possessed by the emperor Hadrian, who died and was buried in it, where he is supposed to have breathed out that last and celebrated adieu to his little pallid, frightened, fluttering soul; [1] which would have left him with less regret, if, from Cicero's habitation on earth, it had known the way to those regions above, where Cicero probably still lives, in the fruition of endless happiness. [2]

[1] Animula vagula, blandula,
Hospes, Comesque corporis,
Quæ nunc abibis in loca,
Pallidula, rigida, nudula,
Nec, ut soles, dabis jocos.
Ælii Spartian. Vid. Hadr. 25.

[2] Ubi nunc agat anima Ciceronis, fortasse non est humani judicii pronuntiare: me certe non admodum adversum habituri sint in ferendis calculis, qui sperant illum apud Superos quietam vitam agere. Erasm. Proœm. in Tusc. Quæst. ad Joh. Ulatten.

vessels and moveables were of the best work and choicest materials. There was a cedar table of his remaining in Pliny's time, said to be the first which was ever seen in Rome, and to have cost him eighty pounds.* He thought it the part of an eminent citizen to preserve an uniformity of character in every article of his conduct, and to illustrate his dignity by the splendour of his life. This was the reason of the great variety of his houses, and of their situation in the most conspicuous parts of Italy, along the course of the Appian road; that they might occur at every stage to the observation of travellers, and lie commodious for the reception and entertainment of his friends.

The reader, perhaps, when he reflects on what the old writers have said, of the mediocrity of his paternal estate, will be at a loss to conceive whence all his revenues flowed, that enabled him to sustain the vast expense of building and maintaining such a number of noble houses: but the solution will be easy, when we recollect the great opportunities that he had of improving his original fortunes. The two principal funds of wealth to the leading men of Rome, were,—first, the public magistracies and provincial commands; secondly, the presents of kings, princes, and foreign states, whom they had obliged by their services and protection: and though no man was more moderate in the use of these advantages than Cicero, yet, to one of his prudence, economy, and contempt of vicious pleasures, these were abundantly sufficient to answer all his expenses:† for, in his province of Cilicia, after all the memorable instances of his generosity, by which he saved to the public a full million sterling, which all other governors had applied to their private use, yet, at the expiration of his year, he left in the hands of

* Extat hodie M. Ciceronis, in illa paupertate, et quod magis mirum est, illo ævo empta H. S. X. [Plin. Hist. Nat. 13. 15.] nullius ante Ciceronianam vetustior memoria est. Ib. 16.

† Parva sunt, quæ desunt nostris quidem moribus, et ea sunt ad explicandum expeditissima, modo valeamus. Ad Quint. 2. 15.

the publicans, in Asia, near twenty thousand pounds, reserved from the strict dues of his government, and remitted to him afterwards at Rome.* But there was another way of acquiring money, esteemed the most reputable of any, which brought large and frequent supplies to him—the legacies of deceased friends. It was the peculiar custom of Rome, for the clients and dependents of families, to bequeath, at their death, to their patrons, some considerable part of their estates, as the most effectual testimony of their respect and gratitude; and the more a man received in this way, the more it redounded to his credit.—Thus Cicero mentions it, to the honour of Lucullus, that, while he governed Asia, as proconsul, many great estates were left to him by will:† and Nepos tells us, in praise of Atticus, that he succeeded to many inheritances of the same kind, bequeathed to him on no other account than of his friendly and amiable temper.‡ Cicero had his full share of these testamentary donations, as we see from the many instances of them mentioned in his letters;§ and when he was falsely reproached by Antony, with being neglected on these occasions, he declared, in his reply, that he had gained from this single article, about two hundred thousand pounds, by the free and voluntary gifts of dying friends;—not the forged wills of persons unknown to him; with which he charged Antony.‖

His moral character was never blemished by the stain of any habitual vice, but was a shining pattern of virtue to an age, of all others, the most licentious and profligate.¶ His mind was superior

* Ego in cistophoro in Asia habeo ad H. S. bis et vicies, hujus pecuniæ permutatione fidem nostram facile tuebere. Ad Att. xi. 1.

† Maximas audio tibi, L. Luculle, pro tua eximia liberalitate, maximisque beneficiis in tuos, venisse hereditates. Pro Flacc. 34.

‡ Multas enim hereditates nulla alia re, quam bonitate est consecutus. Vit. Att. 21.

§ Ad Att. 2. 20. xi. 2. Pro Mil. 18.

‖ Hereditates mihi negasti venire—ego enim amplius H. S. ducenties acceptum hereditatibus retuli——me nemo, nisi amicus, fecit heredem——te is, quem tu vidisti nunquam. Philip. 2. 16.

¶ Cum vita fuerit integra, nec integra solum sed etiam casta. Erasm. Epist. ad Jo. Ulatten.

to all the sordid passions which engross little souls —avarice, envy, malice, lust. If we sift his familiar letters, we cannot discover in them the least hint of any thing base, immodest, spiteful, or perfidious; but an uniform principle of benevolence, justice, love of his friends and country, flowing through the whole, and inspiring all his thoughts and actions. Though no man ever felt the effects of other people's envy more severely than he, yet no man was ever more free from it: this is allowed to him by all the old writers, and is evident, indeed, from his works; where we find him perpetually praising and recommending whatever was laudable, even in a rival or an adversary; celebrating merit, wherever it was found, whether in the ancients, or his contemporaries, whether in Greeks or Romans, and verifying a maxim, which he had declared, in a speech to the senate, that no man could be envious of another's virtue, who was conscious of his own.*

His sprightly wit would naturally have recommended him to the favour of the ladies, whose company he used to frequent when young, and with many of whom, of the first quality, he was oft engaged, in his riper years, to confer about the interests of their husbands, brothers, or relations, who were absent from Rome: yet we meet with no trace of any criminal gallantry or intrigue with any of them. In a letter to Pætus, towards the end of his life, he gives a jocose account of his supping with their friend Volumnius, an Epicurean wit, of the first class, when the famed courtesan, Cytheris, who had been Volumnius's slave, and was then his mistress, made one of the company at table: where, after several jokes on that incident, he says, that he never suspected that she would have been of the party; and though he was always a lover of cheerful entertainments, yet nothing of that sort had ever

* Declarasti verum esse id, quod ego semper sensi, neminem alterius, qui suæ confideret, virtuti invidere. Philip. x. 1. vid. Plut.

pleased him when young, much less now, when he was old:* There was one lady, however, called Cærellia, with whom he kept up a particular familiarity and correspondence of letters; on which Dio, as it has been already hinted, absurdly grounds some little scandal, though he owns her to have been seventy years old. She is frequently mentioned in Cicero's letters, as a lover of books and philosophy, and, on that account, as fond of his company and writings; but while, out of complaisance to her sex, and a regard to her uncommon talents, he treated her always with respect; yet, by the hints which he drops of her to Atticus, it appears that she had no share of his affections, or any real authority with him.†

His failings were as few as were ever found in any eminent genius; such as flowed from his constitution, not his will, and were chargeable rather to the condition of his humanity, than to the fault of the man. He was thought to be too sanguine in prosperity, too desponding in adversity, and apt to persuade himself, in each fortune, that it would never have an end.‡ This is Pollio's account of him, which seems, in general, to be true; Brutus touches the first part of it, in one of his letters to him, and when things were going prosperously against Antony, puts him gently in mind, that he seemed to trust too much to his hopes:§ and he himself allows the second, and says, that if any one was timorous in great and dangerous events, apprehending always the worst, rather than hoping the best, he was the man; and, if that was a fault, confesses himself

* Me vero nihil istorum ne juvenem quidem movit unquam, ne nunc senem. Ep. Fam. 9. 26.

† Mirifice Cærellia, studio videlicet philosophiæ flagrans, describit a tuis: istos ipsos de finibus habet—[Ad Att. 13. 21.] Cærelliæ facile satisfeci; nec valde laborare visa est: et si illa ego certe non laborarem. Ib. 15. 1. it. 12. 51. 14. 19. Fam. 13. 72. Quintil. 6. 3. Dio, 302.

‡ Utinam moderatius secundas res, et fortius adversas ferre potuisset: namque utræque cum venerant ei, mutari eas non posse rebatur. Asin. Poll. apud Sen. Suasor. 6.

§ Qua in re, Cicero, vir optime ac fortissime, mihique merito et meo nomine et Reipub. Carissime, nimis credere videris spei tuæ. Brut. ad Cic. 4.

not to be free from it:* yet, in explaining afterwards the nature of this timidity, it was such, he tells us, as shewed itself, rather, in foreseeing dangers, than in encountering them: an explication, which the latter part of his life fully confirmed, and above all his death, which no man could sustain with greater courage and resolution.†

But the most conspicuous and glaring passion of his soul was, the love of glory and thirst of praise: a passion, that he not only avowed, but freely indulged; and sometimes, as he himself confesses, to a degree even of vanity.‡ This often gave his enemies a plausible handle of ridiculing his pride and arrogance;§ while the forwardness that he shewed to celebrate his own merits, in all his public speeches, seemed to justify their censures: and, since this is generally considered as the grand foible of his life, and has been handed down, implicitly, from age to age, without ever being fairly examined, or rightly understood, it will be proper to lay open the source from which the passion itself flowed, and explain the nature of that glory, of which he professes himself so fond.

True glory, then, according to his own definition of it, is a wide and illustrious fame of many and great benefits conferred upon our friends, our country, or the whole race of mankind:‖ it is not, he says, the empty blast of popular favour, or the applause of a giddy multitude, which all wise men had ever despised, and none more than himself; but the consenting praise of all honest men, and the

* Nam si quisquam est timidus in magnis periculosisque rebus, semperque magis adversos rerum exitus metuens, quam sperans secundos, is ego sum: et si hoc vitium est, eo me non carere confiteor. Ep. Fam. 6. 14.

† Parum fortis videbatur quibusdam: quibus optime respondit ipse, non se timidum in suscipiendis, sed in providendis periculis: quod probavit morte quoque ipsa, quam præstantissimo suscepit animo. Quintil. l. 12. 1.

‡ Nunc quoniam laudis avidissimi semper fuimus. [Ad Att. 1. 15.] Quin etiam quod est subinane in nobis, et non ἀφιλόδοξον, bellum est enim sua vitia nosse. [Ib. 2. 17.] Sum etiam avidior etiam, quam satis est, gloriæ. Ep. Fam. 9. 14.

§ Et quoniam hoc reprehendis, quod solere me dicas de me ipso gloriosius prædicare. Pro Dom. 35.

‖ Si quidem gloria est illustris ac pervagata multorum et magnorum vel in suos, vel in patriam, vel in omne genus hominum fama meritorum. Pro Marcel. 6.

incorrupt testimony of those who can judge of excellent merit; which resounds always to virtue, as the echo to the voice; and since it is the general companion of good actions, ought not to be rejected by good men. That those who aspired to this glory, were not to expect ease, or pleasure, or tranquillity of life for their pains; but must give up their own peace, to secure the peace of others; must expose themselves to storms and dangers for the public good; sustain many battles with the audacious and the wicked, and some even with the powerful: in short, must behave themselves so, as to give their citizens cause to rejoice that they had ever been born.* This is the notion that he inculcates every where of true glory; which is surely one of the noblest principles that can inspire a human breast; implanted by God in our nature, to dignify and exalt it; and always found the strongest in the best and most elevated minds; and to which we owe every thing great and laudable that history has to offer to us, through all the ages of the heathen world. "There is not an instance," says Cicero, "of a man's exerting himself ever with "praise and virtue in the dangers of his country, "who was not drawn to it by the hopes of glory, "and a regard to posterity."† "Give me a boy," says Quintilian, "whom praise excites, whom glory "warms:" for such a scholar was sure to answer

* Si quisquam fuit unquam remotus et natura, et magis etiam, ut mihi quidem sentire videor, ratione atque doctrina, ab inani laude et sermonibus vulgi, ego profecto is sum. Ep. Fam. 15. 4.

Est enim gloria—consentiens laus bonorum; incorrupta vox bene judicantium de excellente virtute: ea virtuti resonat tanquam imago: quæ quia recte factorum plerumque comes est, non est bonis viris repudianda. Tusc. Quæst. 3. 2.

Qui autem bonam famam bonorum, quæ sola vera gloria nominari potest, expetunt, aliis otium quærere debent et voluptates, non sibi. Sudandum est his pro communibus commodis, adeundæ inimicitiæ, subeundæ sæpe pro Repub. tempestates. Cum multis audacibus, improbis, non nunquam etiam potentibus, dimicandum. Pro Sext. 66.

Carum esse civem, bene de Repub. meŕeri, laudari, coli, diligi, gloriosum est—quare ita guberna Rempub. ut natum esse te cives tui gaudeant: sine quo nec beatus, nec clarus quisquam esse potest. Philip. 1. 14.

† Neque quisquam nostrum in Reipub. periculis, cum laude ac virtute versatur, quin spe posteritatis, fructuque ducatur. Pro C. Rabir. x.

all his hopes, and do credit to his discipline.* "Whether posterity will have any respect for me," says Pliny, "I know not; but am sure that I have "deserved some from it: I will not say by my wit, "for that would be arrogant; but by the zeal, by "the pains, by the reverence, which I have always "paid to it."†

It will not seem strange to observe the wisest of the ancients pushing this principle to so great a length, and considering glory as the amplest reward of a well-spent life,‡ when we reflect, that the greatest part of them had no notion of any other reward or futurity; and even those, who believed a state of happiness to the good, yet entertained it with so much diffidence, that they indulged it rather as a wish than a well-grounded hope; and were glad, therefore, to lay hold on that, which seemed to be within their reach, a futurity of their own creating: an immortality of fame and glory from the applause of posterity. This, by a pleasing fiction, they looked upon as a propagation of life, and an eternity of existence; and had no small comfort in imagining, that though the sense of it should not reach to themselves, it would extend, at least, to others; and that they should be doing good still when dead, by leaving the example of their virtues to the imitation of mankind. Thus Cicero, as he often declares, never looked upon that to be his life, which was confined to this narrow circle on earth, but considered his acts as seeds sown in the immense field of the universe, to raise up the fruit of glory and immortality to him through a succession of infinite ages: nor has he been frustrated of his hope, or disappointed of his end; but as long as

* Mihi detur ille puer, quem laus excitet, quem gloria juvet. Hic erit alendus ambitu—in hoc desidiam nunquam verebor. Quintil. l. 3.

† —Posteris an aliqua cura nostri, nescio. Nos certe meremur, ut sit aliqua: non dico, ingenio; id enim superbum; sed studio, sed labore, sed reverentia posterum. Plin. Ep.

‡ Sed tamen ex omnibus præmiis virtutis, si esset habenda ratio præmiorum, amplissimum esse præmium gloriam. Esse hanc unam quæ brevitatem vitæ posteritatis memoria consolaretur.—Pro Mil. 35.

the name of Rome subsists, or as long as learning virtue, and liberty preserve any credit in the world he will be great and glorious in the memory of al posterity.

As to the other part of the charge, or the proof of his vanity, drawn from his boasting so frequently of himself in his speeches both to the senate and the people, though it may appear to a common reader to be abundantly confirmed by his writings; yet, if we attend to the circumstances of the times, and the part which he acted in them, we shall find it not only excusable, but in some degree even necessary. The fate of Rome was now brought to a crisis; and the contending parties were making their last efforts, either to oppress or preserve it: Cicero was the head of those who stood up for its liberty; which entirely depended on the influence of his counsels: he had many years, therefore, been the common mark of the rage and malice of all, who were aiming at illegal powers, or a tyranny in the state: and while these were generally supported by the military power of the empire, he had no other arms or means of defeating them, but his authority with the senate and people, grounded on the experience of his services, and the persuasion of his integrity: so that, to obviate the perpetual calumnies of the factious, he was obliged to inculcate the merit and good effects of his counsels, in order to confirm people in their union and adherence to them, against the intrigues of those who were employing all arts to subvert them. "The frequent "commemoration of his acts," says Quintilian, "was "not made so much for glory, as for defence; "to repel calumny, and vindicate his measures "when they were attacked:" * and this is what

* Vigesimus annus est, cum omnes scelerati me unum petunt. Philip. 12. x. 6. 6.

At plerumque illud quoque non sine aliqua ratione fecit.—Ut illorum, quæ egerat in Consulatu frequens commemoratio, possit videri non gloriæ magis quam defensioni data—plerumque contra inimicos atque obtrectatores plus vendicat sibi; erant enim tuenda, cum objicerentur. Quintil. xi. 1.

Cicero himself declared in all his speeches; that no man ever heard him speak of himself, but when he was forced to it: that when he was urged with fictitious crimes, it was his custom to answer them with his real services: and if ever he said any thing glorious of himself, it was not through a fondness of praise, but to repel an accusation:* that no man who had been conversant in great affairs, and treated with particular envy, could refute the contumely of an enemy, without touching upon his own praises; and, after all his labours, for the common safety, if a just indignation had drawn from him at any time; what might seem to be vain-glorious, it might reasonably be forgiven to him:† that when others were silent about him, if he could not then forbear to speak of himself, that, indeed, would be shameful; but when he was injured, accused, exposed to popular odium, he must certainly be allowed to assert his liberty, if they would not suffer him to retain his dignity.‡ This then was the true state of the case, as it is evident from the facts of his history—he had an ardent love of glory, and an eager thirst of praise: was pleased, when living, to hear his acts applauded; yet more still with imagining, that they would ever be celebrated when he was dead: a passion, which, for the reasons already hinted, had always the greatest force on the greatest souls: but it must needs raise our contempt and indignation, to see every conceited pedant, and trifling declaimer, who know little of Cicero's real character, and less still of their own, presuming to call him the vainest of mortals.

* Quis unquam audivit, cum ego de me nisi coactus ac necessario dicerem?—dicendum igitur est id, quod non dicerem nisi coactus: nihil enim unquam de me dixi sublatius asciscendæ laudis causa potius, quam criminis depellendi—pro Dom. 35, 36.

† Potest quisquam vir in rebus magnis cum invidia versatus, satis graviter contra inimici contumeliam, sine sua laude respondere?—

Quanquam si me tantis laboribus pro communi salute perfunctum efferret aliquando ad gloriam in refutandis maledictis improborum hominum animi quidam dolor, quis non ignosceret?—de Harusp. resp. 8.

‡ Si, cum cæteri de nobis silent, non etiam nosmet ipsi tacemus, grave. Sed si lædimur, si accusamur, si in invidiam vocamur, profecto concedetis, ut nobis libertatem retinere liceat, si minus liceat dignitatem. Pro Syll. 29.

But there is no point of light, in which we can view him with more advantage or satisfaction to ourselves, than in the contemplation of his learning, and the surprising extent of his knowledge. This shines so conspicuous in all the monuments which remain of him, that it even lessens the dignity of his general character: while the idea of the scholar absorbs that of the senator; and, by considering him as the greatest writer, we are apt to forget, that he was the greatest magistrate also of Rome. We learn our Latin from him at school; our style and sentiments at the college: here the generality take their leave of him; and seldom think of him more, but as of an orator, a moralist, or philosopher of antiquity. But it is with characters as with pictures; we cannot judge well of a single part, without surveying the whole; since the perfection of each depends on its proportion and relation to the rest; while, in viewing them all together, they mutually reflect an additional grace upon each other. His learning, considered separately, will appear admirable; yet much more so, when it is found in the possession of the first statesman of a mighty empire: his abilities as a statesman are glorious; yet surprise us still more, when they are observed in the ablest scholar and philosopher of his age: but an union of both these characters exhibits that sublime specimen of perfection, to which the best parts with the best culture can exalt human nature.*

No man, whose life had been wholly spent in study, ever left more numerous or more valuable fruits of his learning, in every branch of science, and the politer arts; in oratory, poetry, philosophy, law, history, criticism, politics, ethics; in each of which he equalled the greatest masters of his time; in some of them, excelled all men of all times.†

* Cum ad naturam eximiam atque illustrem accesserit ratio quædam, conformatioque doctrinæ, tum illud nescio quid præclarum ac singulare solere existere. Pro Arch. 7.

† M. Cicero in libro, qui inscriptus est de Jure civili in artem redigendo, verba

His remaining works, as voluminous as they appear, are but a small part of what he really published; and though many of these are come down to us, maimed by time, and the barbarity of the intermediate ages, yet they are justly esteemed the most precious remains of all antiquity: and, like the Sybylline books, if more of them had perished, would have been equal still to any price.

His industry was incredible, beyond the example, or even conception of our days: this was the secret by which he performed such wonders, and reconciled perpetual study with perpetual affairs. He suffered no part of his leisure to be idle, or the least interval of it to be lost; but what other people gave to the public shows, to pleasures, to feasts, nay, even to sleep, and the ordinary refreshments of nature, he generally gave to his books, and the enlargement of his knowledge.* On days of business, when he had any thing particular to compose, he had no other time for meditating, but when he was taking a few turns in his walks, where he used to dictate his thoughts to his scribes, who attended him.† We find many of his letters dated before day-light; some from the senate; others from his meals, and the crowd of his morning levee.‡

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hæc posuit—[Aul. Gell. 1. 22.] M. Tullius non modo inter agendum numquam est destitutus scientia juris, sed etiam componere aliqua de eo cœperat. [Quintil. 12. 3.] At M. Tullium, non illum habemus Euphranorem, circa plurium artium species præstantem, sed in omnibus, quæ in quoque laudantur, eminentissimum. Ib. c. x.

* Quantum cæteris ad suas res obeundas, quantum ad festos dies ludorum celebrandos, quantum ad alias voluptates, et ipsam requiem animi et corporis conceditur temporum: quantum alii tribuunt tempestivis conviviis: quantum denique aleæ, quantum pilæ, tantum mihi egomet ad hæc studia recolenda sumsero. Pro Arch. 6.

Cui fuerit ne otium quidem unquam otiosum. Nam quas tu commemoras legere te solere orationes, cum otiosus sis, has ego scripsi ludis et feriis, ne omnino unquam essem otiosus. Pro Planc. 27.

† Ita quicquid conficio aut cogito, in ambulationis ferre tempus confero. [Ad Quint. 3. 3.] Nam cum vacui temporis nihil haberem, et cum recreandæ vocis causa mihi necesse est ambulare, hæc dictavi ambulans. Ad Att. 2. 23.

‡ Cum hæc scribebam ante lucem. [Ad Quint. 3. 2. 7.] Ante lucem cum scriberem contra Epicureos, de eodem oleo et opera exaravi nescio quid ad te, et ante lucem dedi. Deinde cum, somno repetito, simul cum sole experrectus essem. Ad Att. 13. 38. Hæc ad te scripsi apposita secunda mensa. [Ib. 14. 6. 21. 15. 13.] Hoc paullulum exaravi ipsa in turba matutinæ salutationis. Ad. Brut. l. 2. 4.

No compositions afford more pleasure than the epistles of great men: they touch the heart of the reader, by laying open that of the writer. The letters of eminent wits, eminent scholars, eminent statesmen, are all esteemed in their several kinds; but there never was a collection that excelled so much, in every kind, as Cicero's; for the purity of style, the importance of the matter, or the dignity of the persons concerned in them. We have about a thousand still remaining, all written after he was forty years old; which are but a small part, not only of what he wrote, but of what were actually published, after his death, by his servant Tiro. For we see many volumes of them quoted by the ancients, which are utterly lost; as the first book of his letters to Licinius Calvus; the first also to Q. Axius; a second book to his son; a second also to Corn. Nepos; a third book to J. Cæsar; a third to Octavius; and a third also to Pansa; an eighth book to M. Brutus; and a ninth to A. Hirtius. Of all which, excepting a few to J. Cæsar and Brutus, we have nothing more left, than some scattered phrases and sentences, gathered from the citations of the old critics and grammarians.* What makes these letters still more estimable is, that he had never designed them for the public, nor kept any copies of them; for the year before his death, when Atticus was making some inquiry about them, he sent him word, that he had made no collection; and that Tiro had preserved only about seventy.† Here then we may expect to see the genuine man, without disguise or affectation; especially in his letters to Atticus; to whom he talked with the same frankness as to himself; opened the rise and progress of each thought; and never entered into any affair without his particular advice: so that these may be considered as the memoirs of his times; containing

* See the fragments of his letters in the editions of his works.

† Mearum Epistolarum nulla est συναγωγή. Sed habet Tiro instar septuaginta. Ad Att. 16. 5.

the most authentic materials for the history of that age, and laying open the grounds and motives of all the great events that happened in it:* and it is the want of attention to them, that makes the generality of writers, on these times, so superficial as well as erroneous: while they choose to transcribe the dry and imperfect relations of the later Greek historians, rather than take the pains, to extract the original account of facts from one, who was a principal actor in them.

In his familiar letters, he affected no particular elegance or choice of words, but took the first that occurred from common use and the language of conversation.† Whenever he was disposed to joke, his wit was easy and natural; flowing always from the subject, and throwing out what came uppermost; not disdaining even a pun, when it served to make his friends laugh.‡ In letters of compliment, some of which were addressed to the greatest men who ever lived, his inclination to please is expressed in a manner agreeable to nature and reason, with the utmost delicacy both of sentiment and diction, yet without any of those pompous titles and lofty epithets which modern custom has introduced into our commerce with the great, and falsely stamped with the name of politeness, though they are the real offspring of barbarism, and the effect of our degeneracy, both in taste and manners. In his political letters, all his maxims are drawn from an intimate knowledge of men and things; he always touches the point on which the affair turns, foresees the danger, and foretels the mischief, which never failed to follow upon the neglect of his counsels, of which there were so many instances, that, as an eminent

* Quæ qui legat non multum desideret historiam contextam eorum temporum; sic enim omnia de studiis principum, vitiis ducum, ac mutationibus Reipub. perscripta sunt, ut nihil in his non appareat. Corn. Nep. vit. Att. 16.

† Epistolas vero quotidianis verbis texere solemus. Ep. Fam. 9. 21.

‡ Quicquid in buccam venerit. Ad Att. 7. x. 14. 7. In reproaching Antony for publishing one of his letters to him, "How many jests," says he, "are often "found in private letters, which, if made public, might be thought foolish and im-"pertinent?" Philip. 2. 4.

writer, of his own time, observed of him, his prudence seemed to be a kind of divination, which foretold every thing that afterwards happened, with the veracity of a prophet.* But none of his letters do him more credit than those of the recommendatory kind: the others shew his wit and his parts, these his benevolence and his probity: he solicits the interest of his friends with all the warmth and force of words of which he was master, and alleges, generally, some personal reason for his peculiar zeal in the cause, and that his own honour was concerned in the success of it.†

But his letters are not more valuable on any account, than for their being the only monuments of that sort which remain to us from free Rome. They breathe the last words of expiring liberty, a great part of them having been written in the very crisis of its ruin, to rouse up all the virtue that was left in the honest and the brave, to the defence of their country. The advantage which they derive from this circumstance will easily be observed, by comparing them with the epistles of the best and greatest who flourished afterwards in imperial Rome. Pliny's letters are justly admired by men of taste:

* Ut facile existimari possit prudentiam quodammodo esse divinationem. Non enim Cicero ea solum, quæ vivo se acciderunt, futura prædixit, sed etiam, quæ nunc usu veniunt, cecinit, ut Vates. Corn. Nepos. 16.

† An objection may possibly be made to my character of these letters, from a certain passage in one of them, addressed to a proconsul of Afric, wherein he intimates, that there was a private mark agreed upon between them, which, when affixed to his letters, would signify what real stress he himself laid upon them, and what degree of influence he desired them to have with his friend. [Ep. Fam. 13. 6.] But that seems to relate only to the particular case of one man, who, having great affairs in Afric, was likely to be particularly troublesome both to Cicero and the proconsul; whose general concerns, however, he recommends, in that letter, with the utmost warmth and affection. But, if he had used the same method with all the other proconsuls and foreign commanders, it seems not only reasonable, but necessary, that a man of his character and authority, whose favour was perpetually solicited by persons of all ranks, should make some distinction between his real friends, whom he recommended for their own sake, and those whose recommendations were extorted from him by the importunity of others; which was frequently the case, as he himself declares in these very letters. "Your regard for me," says he, "is so "publicly known, that I am importuned by many for recommendations to you. "But though I give them sometimes to men of no consequence, yet, for the most part, "it is to my real friends." Again, "Your friendship, and your affection to me, is so "illustrious, that I am under a necessity of recommending many people to you: "but though it is my duty to wish well to all whom I recommend, yet I do not "live upon the same foot of friendship with them all," &c. Ep. Fam. 13. 70, 71

they shew the scholar, the wit, the fine gentleman: yet we cannot but observe a poverty and barrenness through the whole, that betrays the awe of a master. All his stories and reflections terminate in private life; there is nothing important in politics; no great affairs explained; no account of the motives of public councils: he had borne all the same offices with Cicero, whom, in all points, he affected to emulate:* yet his honours were in effect but nominal; conferred by a superior power, and administered by a superior will; and, with the old titles of consul and proconsul, we want still the statesman, the politician, and the magistrate. In his provincial command, where Cicero governed all things with a supreme authority, and had kings attendant on his orders, Pliny durst not venture to repair a bath, or punish a fugitive slave, or incorporate a company of masons, till he had first consulted and obtained the leave of Trajan.†

His historical works are all lost: the Commentaries of his Consulship, in Greek; the history of his own affairs, to his return from exile, in Latin verse, and his Anecdotes; as well as the pieces that he published on natural history; of which Pliny quotes one upon the wonders of nature, and another on perfumes.‡ He was meditating, likewise, a general history of Rome, to which he was frequently urged by his friends, as the only man capable of adding that glory also to his country, of excelling the Greeks in a species of writing, which, of all others, was at that time the least cultivated by the Romans.§ But

* Lætaris, quod honoribus ejus insistam, quem æmulari in studiis cupio. Plin. Ep. 4. 8.

† Prusenses, Domine, balneum habent et sordidum et vetus; id itaque indulgentia tua restituere desiderant. Ep. l. x. 34.

Quorum ego supplicium distuli, ut te conditorem disciplinæ militaris, firmatoremque, consulerem de modo pœnæ. Ib. 38.

Tu, Domine, despice an instituendum putes collegium Fabrorum, duntaxat hominum cl. Ib. 42.

‡ Cicero in Admirandis posuit, &c. Plin. Hist. Nat. 31. 2. Quod Admirandis suis inseruit M. Cicero. Ib. c. 4. In monumentis M. Ciceronis invenitur; Unguenta gratiora esse, quæ terram, quam quæ crocum sapiant. Hist. Nat. 13. 3. 17. 5.

§ Postulatur a te jamdiu, vel flagitatur potius historia: sic enim putant, te illam

he never found leisure to execute so great a task; yet has sketched out a plan of it, which, short as it is, seems to be the best that can be formed for the design of a perfect history.

He declares it to be the first and fundamental law of history, that it should neither dare to say any thing that was false, or fear to say any thing that was true, nor give any just suspicion either of favour or disaffection: that, in the relation of things, the writer should observe the order of time, and add also the description of places: that, in all great and memorable transactions, he should first explain the counsels, then the acts, lastly the events: that, in the counsels, he should interpose his own judgment on the merit of them; in the acts, should relate not only what was done, but how it was done; in the events, should shew what share chance or rashness or prudence had in them: that, in regard to persons, he should describe not only their particular actions, but the lives and characters of all those who bear an eminent part in the story: that he should illustrate the whole in a clear, easy, natural style; flowing with a perpetual smoothness and equability; free from the affectation of points and sentences, or the roughness of judicial pleadings.*

We have no remains, likewise, of his poetry, except some fragments occasionally interspersed through his other writings; yet these, as I have before observed, are sufficient to convince us, that his poetical genius, if it had been cultivated with the same care, would not have been inferior to his oratorial. The two arts are so nearly allied, that an excellency in the one seems to imply a capacity for the other, the same qualities being essential to them both; a sprightly fancy, fertile invention, flowing and numerous diction. It was in Cicero's time,

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tractante, effici posse, ut in hoc etiam genere Græcia nihil cedamus—abest enim historia litteris nostris. De Leg. 1. 2. 3.

* De Orat. 2. 15.

that the old rusticity of the Latin muse first began to be polished by the ornaments of dress, and the harmony of numbers; but the height of perfection to which it was carried, after his death, by the succeeding generation, as it left no room for a mediocrity in poetry, so it quite eclipsed the fame of Cicero. For the world always judges of things by comparison, and because he was not so great a poet as Virgil and Horace, he was decried as none at all; especially in the courts of Antony and Augustus; where it was a compliment to the sovereign, and a fashion consequently among their flatterers,* to make his character ridiculous, wherever it lay open to them: hence flowed that perpetual raillery, which subsists to this day, on his famous verses—

Cedant arma togæ, concedat laurea linguæ.
O fortunatam natam me consule Romam—

and two bad lines picked out by the malice of enemies, and transmitted to posterity, as a specimen of the rest, have served to damn many thousands of good ones. For Plutarch reckons him among the most eminent of the Roman poets; and Pliny the Younger was proud of emulating him in his poetic character:† and Quintilian seems to charge the cavils of his censurers to a principle of malignity.‡ But his own verses carry the surest proof of their merit; being written in the best manner of that age in which he lived, and in the style of Lucretius, whose poem he is said to have revised and corrected for its publication, after Lucretius's death.§ This, however, is certain, that he was the constant friend and generous patron of all the celebrated poets of his time;‖ of Accius, Archias, Chilius, Lucretius,

* Postea vero quam triumvirali proscriptione consumptus est, passim qui oderant, qui invidebant, qui æmulabantur, adulatores etiam præsentis potentiæ, non responsurum invaserunt. Quintil. 12. x.

† Sed ego verear, ne me non satis deceat, quod decuit M. Tullium. Ep. l. 5. 3.

‡ In carminibus utinam pepercisset, quæ non desierunt carpere maligni. Quintil. xi. 1.

§ Euseb. Chronic.

‖ Adjicis M. Tullium mira benignitate poetarum ingenia fovisse. Plin. Ep. 3. 15.

Catullus; who pays his thanks to him in the following lines, for some favour that he had received from him:—

Tully, most eloquent by far,
Of all who have been, or who are,
Or who in ages still to come
Shall rise of all the sons of Rome.
To thee Catullus grateful sends
His warmest thanks, and recommends
His humble muse, as much below
All other poets he, as thou
All other patrons dost excel,
In power of words and speaking well.*

But poetry was the amusement only, and relief of his other studies: eloquence was his distinguishing talent, his sovereign attribute: to this he devoted all the faculties of his soul, and attained to a degree of perfection in it, that no mortal ever surpassed: so that, as a polite historian observes, Rome had but few orators before him whom it could praise, none whom it could admire.† Demosthenes was the pattern by which he formed himself; whom he emulated with such success, as to merit what St. Jerome calls that beautiful eloge—Demosthenes has snatched from thee the glory of being the first, thou from Demosthenes that of being the only orator.‡ The genius, the capacity, the style and manner of them both

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Ut ex familiari ejus L. Accio poeta audire sum solitus. [Brut. 197.] Lucretii poemata, ut scribis, lita sunt multis luminibus ingenii, multæ tamen artis. Ad Quint. 2. xi. Vid. Ad Att. 1. 9. 16.

* Disertissime Romuli nepotum,
Quot sunt, quotque fuere, Marce Tulli,
Quotque post aliis erunt in annis?
Gratias tibi maximas Catullus
Agit, pessimus omnium poeta,
Tanto pessimus omnium poeta
Quanto tu optimus omnium patronus.
Catull. 47.

† At oratio—ita universa sub principe operis sui erupit Tullio; ut delectari ante eum paucissimis, mirari vero neminem possis. Vell. Pat. 1. 17.

‡ Demosthenem igitur imitemur. O Dii boni! quid quasi nos aliud agimus, aut quid aliud optamus? Brut. 417.

M. Tullius, in quem pulcherrimum illud elogium est; Demosthenes tibi præripuit, ne esses primus orator; tuilli, ne solus. Ad Nepotian. de vitâ Clericor. tom. 4. edit. Bened.

were much the same; their eloquence of that great, sublime, and comprehensive kind, which dignified every subject, and gave it all the force and beauty of which it was capable: it was that roundness of speaking, as the ancients call it, where there was nothing either redundant or deficient; nothing either to be added or retrenched: their perfections were, in all points, so transcendent, and yet so similar, that the critics are not agreed on which side to give the preference: Quintilian, indeed, the most judicious of them, has given it, on the whole, to Cicero: but if, as others have thought, Cicero had not all the nerves, the energy, or, as he himself calls it, the thunder of Demosthenes, he excelled him in the copiousness and elegance of his diction; the variety of his sentiments; and, above all, in the vivacity of his wit, and smartness of his raillery: Demosthenes had nothing jocose or facetious in him; yet, by attempting sometimes to jest, shewed that the thing itself did not displease, but did not belong to him: for as Longinus says, whenever he affected to be pleasant, he made himself ridiculous; and if he happened to raise a laugh, it was chiefly upon himself. Whereas Cicero, from a perpetual fund of wit and ridicule, had the power always to please, when he found himself unable to convince; and could put his judges into good humour, when he had cause to be afraid of their severity; so that, by the opportunity of a well-timed joke, he is said to have preserved many of his clients from manifest ruin.*

Yet, in all this height and fame of his eloquence, there was another set of orators at the same time in Rome; men of parts and learning, and of the first quality; who, while they acknowledged the supe-

* Huic diversa virtus, quæ risum judicis movendo—plerique Demostheni facultatem hujus rei defuisse credunt, Ciceroni modum—nec videri potest noluisse Demosthenes, cujus pauca admodum dicta——ostendunt non displicuisse illi jocos, sed non contigisse—mihi vero—mira quædam videtur in Cicerone fuisse urbanitas—[Quintil. l. 6. 3. Ib. x. 1. Longin. de Sublim. c. 34.] Ut pro L. Flacco, quem repetundarum reum joci opportunitate de manifestissimis criminibus exemit, &c. Macrob. Saturn. 2. 1.

riority of his genius, yet censured his diction, as not truly Attic or classical; some calling it loose and languid, others tumid and exuberant.* These men affected a minute and fastidious correctness; pointed sentences, short and concise periods, without a syllable to spare in them; as if the perfection of oratory consisted in a frugality of words, and in crowding our sentiments into the narrowest compass.† The chief patrons of this taste were, M. Brutus, Licinius Calvus, Asinius Pollio, and Sallust; whom Seneca seems to treat as the author of the obscure, abrupt, and sententious style.‡ Cicero often ridicules these pretenders to Attic elegance; as judging of eloquence, not by the force of the art, but their own weakness, and resolving to decry what they could not attain, and to admire nothing but what they could imitate;§ and though their way of speaking, he says, might please the ear of a critic or a scholar, yet it was not of that sublime and sonorous kind, whose end was not only to instruct, but to move an audience: an eloquence, born for the multitude; whose merit was always shewn by its effects, of exciting admiration, and extorting shouts of applause; and on which there never was any difference of judgment between the learned and the populace.‖

This was the genuine eloquence that prevailed in Rome as long as Cicero lived: his were the only

* Constat nec Ciceroni quidem obtrectatores defuisse, quibus inflatus et tumens, nec satis pressus, supra modum exultans et superfluens, et parum Atticus videretur, &c. Tacit. Dialog. 18. Vid. Quintil. 12. 1.

† Mihi falli multum videntur, qui solos esse Atticos credunt, tenues et lucidos et significantes, sed quadam eloquentiæ frugalitate contentos, ac manum semper intra pallium continentes. Quintil. xii. c. x.

‡ Sic Sallustio vigente, amputatæ sententiæ, et verba ante expectatum cadentia, et obscura brevitas, fuere pro cultu. L. Sen. Epist. 114.

§ Itaque nobis monendi sunt ii,—qui aut dici se desiderant Atticos, aut ipsi Attice volunt dicere, ut mirentur Demosthenem maxime—eloquentiamque ipsius viribus, non imbecillitate sua, metiantur. Nunc enim tantum quisque laudat, quantum se posse sperat imitari. Orat. 248. vid. Tusc. Quæst. 2. 1.

‖ Sed Ad Calvum revertamur: qui—metuens ne vitiosum colligeret, etiam verum sanguinem deperdebat. Itaque ejus oratio nimia religione attenuata, doctis et attente audientibus erat illustris; a multitudine autem et a foro, cui nata eloquentia est, devorabatur. Brut. 410.

Itaque nunquam de bono Oratore et non bono doctis hominibus cum populo dissensio fuit, &c. Ib. 297.

speeches that were relished or admired by the city; while those Attic orators, as they called themselves, were generally despised, and frequently deserted by the audience in the midst of their harangues.* But after Cicero's death, and the ruin of the republic, the Roman oratory sunk, of course, with its liberty, and a false species universally prevailed: when, instead of that elate, copious, and flowing eloquence, which launched out freely into every subject, there succeeded a guarded, dry, sententious kind; full of laboured turns and studied points; and proper only for the occasion on which it was employed—the making panegyric and servile compliments to their tyrants. This change of style may be observed in all their writers from Cicero's time, to the Younger Pliny, who carried it to its utmost perfection in his celebrated panegyric on the Emperor Trajan: which, as it is justly admired for the elegance of diction, the beauty of sentiments, and the delicacy of its compliments, so it is become, in a manner, the standard of fine speaking to modern times: where it is common to hear the pretenders to criticism, descanting on the tedious length and spiritless exuberance of the Ciceronian periods. But the superiority of Cicero's eloquence, as it was acknowledged by the politest age of free Rome, so it has received the most authentic confirmation, that the nature of things can admit, from the concurrent sense of nations: which, neglecting the productions of his rivals and contemporaries, have preserved to us his inestimable remains, as a specimen of the most perfect manner of speaking, to which the language of mortals can be exalted: so that, as Quintilian declared of him, even in that early age, he has acquired such fame with posterity, that Cicero is not reckoned so much the name of a man, as of eloquence itself.†

* At cum isti Attici dicant, non modo a corona, quod est ipsum miserabile, sed etiam ab Advocatis relinquuntur. Ib. 417.

† —Apud posteros vero id consecutus, ut Cicero jam non hominis, sed eloquentiæ nomen habeatur. Quintil. x. 1.

But we have hitherto been considering, chiefly, the exterior part of Cicero's character, and shall now attempt to penetrate the recesses of his mind, and discover the real source and principle of his actions, from a view of that philosophy, which he professed to follow, as the general rule of his life. This, as he often declares, was drawn from the Academic sect; which derived its origin from Socrates, and its name from a celebrated Gymnasium, or place of exercise in the suburbs of Athens, called the Academy; where the professors of that school used to hold their lectures and philosophical disputations.* Socrates was the first who banished physics out of philosophy, which, till his time, had been the sole object of it; and drew it off from the obscure and intricate inquiries into nature, and the constitution of the heavenly bodies, to questions of morality; of more immediate use and importance to the happiness of man; concerning the true notions of virtue and vice, and the natural difference of good and ill:† and as he found the world generally prepossessed with false notions on those subjects, so his method was, not to assert any opinion of his own, but to refute the opinions of others, and attack the errors in vogue; as the first step towards preparing men for the reception of truth, or what came the nearest to it, probability.‡ While he himself, therefore, pro-

* Illi autem, qui Platonis instituto in Academia, quod est alterum gymnasium, cœtus erant et sermones habere soliti, e loci vocabulo nomen habuerunt. Academ. 1. 4.

N. B. This celebrated place, which Serv. Sulpicius calls the noblest Gymnasium of the world, took its name from one Academus, an ancient hero, who possessed it in the time of the Tyndaridæ. But famous as it was, it was purchased afterwards for about one hundred pounds, and dedicated to the public, for the convenience of walks and exercises for the citizens of Athens; and was gradually improved and adorned by the rich, who had received benefit or pleasure from it, with plantations of groves, stately porticos, and commodious apartments, for the particular use of the professors or masters of the Academic school; where several of them are said to have spent their lives, and to have resided so strictly, as scarce ever to have come within the city. Ep. Fam. 4. 12. Plut. in Theseo. 15. Diog. Laert. in Plato. § 7. Plut. de Exil. 603.

† Socrates—id quod constat inter omnes, primus a rebus occultis, et ab ipsa natura involutis—avocavisse philosophiam et ad vitam communem adduxisse, ut de virtutibus et vitiis, omninoque de bonis rebus et malis quæreret, &c. Ib. vid. it. Tusc. Quæst. 5. 4.

‡ E quibus nos id potissimum consecuti sumus, quo Socratem usum arbitrabamur:

fessed to know nothing, he used to sift out the several doctrines of all the pretenders to science, and then teaze them with a series of questions so contrived, as to reduce them, by the course of their answers, to an evident absurdity, and the impossibility of defending what they had at first affirmed.*

But Plato did not strictly adhere to the method of his master, Socrates; and his followers wholly deserted it: for, instead of the Socratic modesty of affirming nothing, and examining every thing, they turned philosophy, as it were, into an art; and formed a system of opinions, which they delivered to their disciples, as the peculiar tenets of their sect.† Plato's nephew, Speusippus, who was left the heir of his school, continued his lectures, as his successors also did, in the Academy, and preserved the name of Academics; whilst Aristotle, the most eminent of Plato's scholars, retired to another Gymnasium, called the Lyceum; where, from a custom which he and his followers observed, of teaching and disputing as they walked in the porticos of the place, they obtained the name of Peripatetics, or the walking philosophers. These two sects, though differing in name, agreed generally in things, or in all the principal points of their philosophy: they placed the chief happiness of man in virtue, with a competency of external goods; taught the existence of a God, a providence, the immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments.‡

This was the state of the Academic school under

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ut nostram ipsi sententiam tegeremus, errore alios levaremus; et in omni disputatione, quid esset simillimum veri quæreremus. Tusc. Quæst. 5. 4. it. 1. 4.

* Socrates enim percunctando atque interrogando elicere solebat opiniones eorum, quibuscum disserebat. De Fin. 2. 1.

† Illam autem Socraticam dubitationem de omnibus rebus, et nulla adfirmatione adhibita consuetudinem disserendi reliquerunt. Ita facta est, quod minime Socrates probabat, ars quædam Philosophiæ, et rerum ordo et descriptio disciplinæ. Academ. 1. 4.

‡ Sed idem fons erat utrisque, et eadem rerum expetendarum, fugiendarumque partitio. [Academ, 1. 4. 6. 8.] Peripateticos et Academicos, nominibus differentes, re congruentes. Ib. 2. 5.

five successive masters, who governed it after Plato; Speusippus, Xenocrates, Polemo, Crates, Crantor; till Arcesilaus, the sixth, discarded, at once, all the systems of his predecessors, and revived the Socratic way of affirming nothing, doubting of all things, and exposing the vanity of the reigning opinions.* He alleged the necessity of making this reformation, from that obscurity of things, which had reduced Socrates, and all the ancients before him, to a confession of their ignorance: he observed, as they had all likewise done, that the senses were narrow, reason infirm, life short, truth immersed in the deep, opinion and custom every where predominant, and all things involved in darkness.† He taught, therefore, that there was no certain knowledge, or perception of any thing in nature, nor any infallible criterion of truth and falsehood; that nothing was so detestable as rashness; nothing so scandalous to a philosopher, as to profess, what was either false, or unknown to him; that we ought to assert nothing dogmatically; but, in all cases, to suspend our assent; and, instead of pretending to certainty, content ourselves with opinion, grounded on probability; which was all that a rational mind had to acquiesce in. This was called the New Academy, in distinction from the Platonic or the Old; which maintained its credit down to Cicero's time, by a succession of able masters; the chief of whom was Carneades, the fourth from Arcesilaus: who carried it to its utmost height of glory, and is greatly celebrated by antiquity for the vivacity of his wit and force of his eloquence.‡

* Arcesilaus primum, ex variis Platonis libris, sermonibusque Socraticis hoc maxime arripuit, nihil esse certi, quod aut sensibus aut animo percipi possit. De Orat. 3. 18.

† Non pertinacia sed earum rerum obscuritate, quæ ad confessionem ignorantiæ adduxerant Socratem, et—omnes pæne veteres; qui nihil cognosci, nihil percipi, nihil sciri posse dixerunt; angustos sensus; imbecillos animos; brevia curricula vitæ; in profundo veritatem demersam; opinionibus et institutis omnia teneri; nihil veritati relinqui: deinceps omnia tenebris circumfusa esse dixerunt. Academ. 1. 13.

‡ Hanc Academiam novam appellant;—quæ usque ad Carneadem perducta, qui quartus ab Arcesila fuit, in eadem Arcesilæ ratione permansit.—[Academ. 1. 13.] Ut hæc in philosophia ratio contra omnia disserendi, nullamque rem aperte, judicandi, profecta a Socrate, repetita ab Arcesila, confirmata a Carneade, usque ad nostram

We must not, however, imagine, that these Academics continued doubting and fluctuating all their lives in scepticism and irresolution, without any precise opinions, or settled principle of judging and acting:* no; their rule was as certain and consistent as that of any other sect; as it is frequently explained by Cicero, in many parts of his works. "We are not of that sort," says he, "whose mind "is perpetually wandering in error, without any "particular end, or object of its pursuit: for what "would such a mind, or such a life, indeed, be "worth, which had no determinate rule or method "of thinking and acting? But the difference be"tween us and the rest is, that, whereas they call "some things certain, and others uncertain; we "call the one probable, the other improbable. For "what reason then should not I pursue the pro"bable, reject the contrary, and declining the arro"gance of affirming, avoid the imputation of rash"ness; which, of all things, is the farthest removed "from wisdom?"† Again: "We do not pretend to "say, that there is no such thing as truth; but that "all truths have some falsehoods annexed to them, "of so near a resemblance and similitude, as to af"ford no certain note of distinction, whereby to "determine our judgment and assent: whence it "follows, also, of course, that there are many things "probable; which, though not perfectly compre"hended, yet, on account of their attractive and "specious appearance, are sufficient to govern the "life of a wise man."‡ In another place, "there is no "difference," says he, "between us and those, who "pretend to know things—but that they never doubt "of the truth of what they maintain; whereas we

viguit ætatem. [De Nat. Deor. 1. 5.] Hinc hæc recentior Academia emanavit, in qua exstitit divina quadam celeritate ingenii, dicendique copia Carneades. De Orat. 3. 18.

* Neque enim Academici, cum in utramque disserunt partem, non secundum alteram vivunt. Quintil. l. 12. 1.

† De Offic. 2. 2. ‡ De Nat. Deor. 1. 5.

" have many probabilities, which we readily em-
" brace, but dare not affirm. By this we preserve
" our judgment free and unprejudiced, and are
" under no necessity of defending what is prescribed
" and enjoined to us: whereas, in the other sects,
" men are tied down to certain doctrines, before they
" are capable of judging what is the best; and, in the
" most infirm part of life, drawn either by the autho-
" rity of a friend, or charmed with the first master
" whom they happen to hear, they form a judgment
" of things unknown to them; and to whatever
" school they chance to be driven by the tide, cleave
" to it as fast as the oyster to the rock." *

Thus the Academy held the proper medium between the rigour of the stoic, and the indifference of the sceptic; the stoics embraced all their doctrines, as so many fixed and immutable truths, from which it was infamous to depart; and, by making this their point of honour, held all their disciples in an inviolable attachment to them. The sceptics, on the other hand, observed a perfect neutrality towards all opinions; maintaining all of them to be equally uncertain; and that we could not affirm of any thing, that it was this or that; since there was as much reason to take it for the one, as for the other, or for neither

* Academ. 2. S.—N. B. This sketch of the principles of the Academy, may enable us to decide that famous contest among the critics, about the reading of the following passage in Cicero's treatise on the Nature of the Gods: [l. 1. 1.]—De qua tam variæ sunt doctissimorum hominum, tamque discrepantes sententiæ, ut magno argumento esse debeat, causam, id est, principium philosophiæ esse, scientiam; [inscientiam;] prudenterque academicos a rebus incertis assensionem cohibuisse. The question is, whether we should read scientiam or inscientiam: the greatest part of the editions and MSS. give us the first; but Aldus Manutius and Dr. Davies prefer the second; which I take to be the true reading. For Cicero's meaning in this place is, from the dissensions of the learned, on a subject of so great importance, to illustrate a fundamental maxim of his sect, that the natural obscurity of things, and man's consciousness of his ignorance, was the first cause or incitement to the study of philosophy.—Plato had expressed the same sentiment before him, where he says, that to wonder at things was the common affection of a philosopher, and what alone gave rise, or a beginning, to philosophy itself: [in Theæt. p. 155. Edit. Serr.] whence Cicero draws this inference, which he frequently inculcates in other parts of his works, that the Academy, therefore, acted prudently, in withholding its assent, and maintaining, that there was no such thing as science, or absolute certainty within the reach of man. If this then be the sense of the passage, as it appears evidently to be, it necessarily requires inscientiam to make it consistent.—See the translation of L'Abbe D'Olivet, and his notes on the place, and Edit. Davis. Cantab.

of them; and wholly indifferent, which of them we thought it to be: thus they lived without ever engaging themselves on any side of a question; directing their lives, in the mean time, by natural affections, and the laws and customs of their country.* But the Academics, by adopting the probable instead of the certain, kept the balance in an equal poise between the two extremes; making it their general principle, to observe a moderation in all their opinions; and, as Plutarch, who was one of them, tells us, paying a great regard always to that old maxim:

Μηδὲν ἄγαν; *ne quid nimis.*†

As this school then was in no particular opposition to any, but an equal adversary to all, or rather to dogmatical philosophy in general, so every other sect, next to itself, readily gave it the preference to the rest: which universal concession of the second place, is commonly thought to infer a right to the first;‡ and if we reflect on the state of the heathen world, and what they themselves so often complain of, the darkness that surrounded them, and the infinite dissensions of the best and wisest of the fundamental questions of religion and morality,§ we must necessarily allow, that the Academic manner of philosophizing was, of all others, the most rational and modest, and the best adapted to the discovery of truth: whose peculiar character it was to encourage inquiry; to sift every question to the bottom; to try the force of every argument, till it had found its real moment, or the precise quantity of its weight.‖ This it was that induced Cicero, in his advanced life

* Vid. Sext. Empirici, Pyrrhon. Hypotyp. Aul. Gell. xi. 5.

† μέλλων εἰς πάντα, τιμήσειν τὸ μηδὲν ἄγαν, ἐν Ακαδημία γενόμενος; εἶπον. in lib. de *e* apud Delph. 557. it. lib. de primo frigido. fin.

‡ Academico Sapienti ab omnibus cæterarum Sectarum—secundæ partes dantur—ex quo potest probabiliter confici, eum recte primum esse suo judicio, qui omnium cæterorum judicio sit secundus. Fragm. Academ. ex Augustin.

§ De Nat. Deor. 1. 1. 3. Academ. 2. 3. 1. 13.

‖ Neque nostræ disputationes quicquam aliud agunt, nisi ut, in utramque partem disserendo, eliciant et tanquam exprimant aliquid, quod aut verum sit, aut ad id quam proxime accedat. Academ. 2. 3.

and ripened judgment, to desert the Old Academy, and declare for the New; when, from a long experience of the vanity of those sects, who called themselves the proprietors of truth, and the sole guides of life, and through a despair of finding any thing certain, he was glad, after all his pains, to take up with the probable.* But the genius and general character of both the Academies, was, in some measure, still the same: for the Old, though it professed to teach a peculiar system of doctrines, yet was ever diffident and cautious of affirming; and the New only the more scrupulous and sceptical of the two: this appears from the writings of Plato, the first master of the Old, in which, as Cicero observes, nothing is absolutely affirmed, nothing delivered for certain, but all things freely inquired into, and both sides of the question impartially discussed.† Yet, there was another reason, that recommended this philosophy in a peculiar manner to Cicero; its being, of all others, the best suited to the profession of an orator: since, by its practice of disputing for and against every opinion of the other sects, it gave him the best opportunity of perfecting his oratorial faculty, and acquiring a habit of speaking readily upon all subjects. He calls it, therefore, the parent of elegance and copiousness, and declares, that he owed all the fame of his eloquence, not to the mechanic rules of the rhetoricians, but to the enlarged and generous principles of the Academy.‡

* Relictam a te, inquit, veterem jam, tractari autem novam. [Ib. 4.] Ultra enim quo progrediar, quam ut verisimilia videam, non habeo: certa dicent hi, qui et percipi ea posse dicunt, et se sapientes profitentur. [Tusc. Quæst. 1. 9.] Sed ne in maximis quidam rebus, quidquam adhuc inveni firmius, quod tenerem, aut quo judicium meum dirigerem, quam id, quodcumque mihi simillimum veri videretur, cum ipsum illud verum in occulto lateret. Orat. fin.

† Cujus in libris nihil affirmatur, et in utramque partem multa disseruntur, de omnibus quæritur, nihil certi dicitur. Academ. 1. 13.

‡ Itaque mihi semper Academiæ consuetudo, de omnibus rebus in contrarias partes disserendi, non ob eam causa solum placuit, quod aliter non posset quid in quaque re verisimile sit inveniri, sed etiam quod esset ea maxima dicendi exercitatio. [Tusc. Quæst. 2. 3. vid. Quintil. 12. 2.] Ego autem fateor; me oratorem, si modo sim, aut etiam quicumque sim, non ex Rhetorum officinis, sed ex Academiæ spatiis extitisse. [Orat. sub. init.] Nos ea philosophia plus utimur, quæ peperit dicendi copiam. Prœm. Paradox.

This school, however, was almost deserted in Greece, and had but few disciples in Rome, when Cicero undertook its patronage, and endeavoured o revive its drooping credit. The reason is obvious; it imposed a hard task upon its scholars, of disputing against every sect, and on every question in philosophy; and if it was difficult, as Cicero says, to be master of any one, how much more of them all? which was incumbent on those, who professed themselves Academics.* No wonder then, that it lost ground every where, in proportion as ease and luxury prevailed; which naturally disposed people to the doctrine of Epicurus; in relation to which, there is a smart saying recorded of Arcesilaus; who, being asked, why so many of all sects went over to the Epicureans, but none ever came back from them, replied, that men might be made eunuchs, but eunuchs could never become men again.†

This general view of Cicero's philosophy will help us to account, in some measure, for that difficulty, which people frequently complain of, in discovering his real sentiments, as well as for the mistakes which they are apt to fall into in that search: since it was the distinguishing principle of the Academy, to refute the opinions of others, rather than declare any of their own. Yet the chief difficulty does not lie here: for Cicero was not scrupulous on that head, nor affected any obscurity in the delivery of his thoughts, when it was his business to explain them: but it is the

* Quam nunc propemodum orbam esse in Græcia intelligo—nam si singulas disciplinas percipere magnum est, quanto majus omnes? quod facere iis necesse est, quibus propositum est, veri reperiendi causa, et contra omnes philosophos, et pro omnibus dicere. De Nat. Deor. 1. 5.

† Diogenes Laertius, and some late writers, speak of a third or Middle Academy between the Old and the New, in which they are commonly followed by the moderns, who make Plato the founder of the Old, Arcesilaus of the Middle, Carneades of the New. [See Stanley's Lives of Philos. in Carneades.] But there was no real ground for such a distinction: since Cicero never mentions any other, but the Old and the New; and expressly declares, the last to have subsisted under that denomination, down to his own days, as well under Carneades as Arcesilaus: and, so far from splitting them into three Academies, Cicero's master, Philo, maintained constantly, in his books, that there never was, in reality, any more than one, grounding his argument on what I have observed above, the similar nature and genius of the two. Academ. 1. 4. Perturbatricem autem harum omnium rerum academiam, hanc ab Arcesila et Carneade recentem, exoremus ut sileat. De Leg. 1. 13.

variety and different character of his several writings that perplexes the generality of his readers: for wherever they dip into his works, they are apt to fancy themselves possessed of his sentiments, and to quote them indifferently as such, whether from his orations, his dialogues, or his letters, without attending to the peculiar nature of the work, or the different person that he assumes in it.

His orations are generally of the judicial kind, or the pleadings of an advocate, whose business it was to make the best of his cause, and to deliver not so much what was true, as what was useful to his client; the patronage of truth belonging, in such cases, to the judge, and not to the pleader.* It would be absurd, therefore, to require a scrupulous veracity, or strict declaration of his sentiments in them: the thing does not admit of it, and he himself forbids us to expect it; and, in one of those orations, frankly declares the true nature of them all. "That man," says he, "is much mistaken, who "thinks that, in these judicial pleadings, he has an "authentic specimen of our opinions: they are the "speeches of the causes and the times; not of the "men or the advocates; if the causes could speak "for themselves, nobody would employ an orator; "but we are employed to speak, not what we would "undertake to affirm upon our authority, but what "is suggested by the cause and the thing itself."† Agreeably to this notion, Quintilian tells us, that those who are truly wise, and have spent their time in public affairs, and not in idle disputes, though they have resolved with themselves to be strictly honest in all their actions, yet will not scruple to use every argument that can be of service to the cause which they have undertaken to defend.‡ In

* Judiciis est semper in causis verum sequi; Patroni, nonnunquam verisimile, etiam si minus sit verum, defendere: quod scribere, præsertim cum de philosophia scriberem, non auderem, nisi idem placeret gravissimo Stoicorum Panætio. De Offic. 2. 14.

† Sed errat vehementer, si quis in orationibus nostris, quas in judiciis habuimus, auctoritates nostras consignatas se habere, arbitratur. Pro A. Cluent. 50.

‡ Quintil. l. xi. 1.

his orations, therefore, where we often meet with the sentences and maxims of philosophy, we cannot always take them for his own, but as topics applied to move his audience, or to add an air of gravity and probability to his speech.*

His letters, indeed, to familiar friends, and especially those to Atticus, place the real man before us, and lay open his very heart, yet, in these, some distinction must necessarily be observed; for, in letters of compliment, condolence, or recommendation, or where he is soliciting any point of importance, he adapts his arguments to the occasion: and uses such, as would induce his friend the most readily to grant what he desired. But as his letters, in general, seldom touch upon any questions of philosophy, except slightly and incidentally, so they will afford very little help to us, in the discovery of his philosophical opinions, which are the subject of the present inquiry, and for which we must wholly recur to his philosophical works.

Now the general purpose of these works was to give a history, rather of the ancient philosophy, than any account of his own; and to explain to his fellow-citizens, in their own language, whatever the philosophers of all sects, and in all ages, had taught on every important question in order to enlarge their minds, and reform their morals; and to employ himself the most usefully to his country, at a time when arms and a superior force had deprived him of the power of serving it in any other way.† This he declares in his treatise called De Finibus, or on the chief good or ill of man; in that upon the Nature of

* Though his orations are not always the proper vouchers of his opinions, yet they are the best testimonies that can be alleged for the truth of facts; especially those which were spoken to the senate or the people, where he refers to the acts and characters of persons then living, before an audience, that was generally as well acquainted with them as himself; and it is, in such cases, chiefly, that I lay any great stress upon them,

† Nam cum otio langueremus, et is esset Reipub. status, ut eam unius consilio atque cura gubernari necesse esset, primum ipsius Reipub. causa philosophiam nostris hominibus explicandum putavi; magni existimans interesse ad decus et ad laudem civitatis, res tam graves, tamque præclaras latinis etiam litteris contineri. De Nat. Deor. 1. 4. it. Academ. 1. 5. Tusc. Quæst. 1. 1. De Fin. 1. 3, 4.

the Gods; in his Tusculan Disputations; and in his book on the Academic Philosophy: in all which he sometimes takes upon himself the part of a Stoic; sometimes of an Epicurean; sometimes of the Peripatetic; for the sake of explaining, with more authority, the different doctrines of each sect: and, as he assumes the person of the one, to confute the other, so, in his proper character of an Academic, he sometimes disputes against them all: while the unwary reader, not reflecting on the nature of dialogues, takes Cicero still for the perpetual speaker; and, under that mistake, often quotes a sentiment for his, that was delivered by him only in order to be confuted. But in these dialogues, as in all his other works, wherever he treats any subject professedly, or gives a judgment upon it deliberately, either in his own person, or that of an Academic, there he delivers his own opinions: and where he, himself, does not appear in the scene, he takes care, usually, to inform us, to which of the characters he has assigned the patronage of his own sentiments; who was generally the principal speaker of the dialogue; as Crassus in his treatise on the Orator; Scipio, in that on the Republic; Cato, in his piece on Old Age. This key will let us into his real thoughts; and enable us, to trace his genuine notions through every part of his writings; from which I shall now proceed to give a short abstract of them.

As to physics, or natural philosophy, he seems to have had the same notion with Socrates, that a minute and particular attention to it, and the making it the sole end and object of our inquiries, was a study rather curious than profitable, and contributing but little to the improvement of human life.* For though he was perfectly acquainted with the various systems of all the philosophers of any name, from the earliest antiquity, and has explained them all in his works; yet he did not think it worth while,

* Ut enim modo dixi, omnibus fere in rebus, et maxime in Physicis, quid non sit, citius, quam quid sit, dixerim. De Nat. Deor. 1. 21. Academ. 2. 39.

either to form any distinct opinions of his own, or, at least, to declare them. From his account, however, of those systems, we may observe, that several of the fundamental principles of the modern philosophy, which pass for the original discoveries of these latter times, are the revival rather of ancient notions, maintained by some of the first philosophers, of whom we have any notice in history; as the motion of the earth; the antipodes; a vacuum; and an universal gravitation, or attractive quality of matter; which holds the world in its present form and order.*

But, in all the great points of religion and morality, which are of more immediate relation to the happiness of man—the being of a God; a Providence; the immortality of the soul; a future state of rewards and punishments; and the eternal difference of good and ill; he has largely and clearly declared his mind in many parts of his writings. He maintained that there was one God or Supreme Being, incorporeal, eternal, self-existent; who created the world by his power, and sustained it by his providence. This he inferred from the consent of all nations; the order and beauty of the heavenly bodies; the evident marks of counsel, wisdom, and a fitness to certain ends, observable in the whole, and in every part of the visible world; and declares that person unworthy of the name of man, who can believe all this to have been made by chance, when, with the utmost stretch of human wisdom, we cannot penetrate the depth of that wisdom which contrived it.†

* De Nat. Deor. 2. 45. Academ. 2. 38, 39.

† Nec Deus ipse—alio modo intelligi potest, nisi mens soluta quædam et libera, segregata ab omni concretione mortali, omnia sentiens et movens, ipsaque prædita motu sempiterno. [Tusc. Quæst. 1. 27.] Sed omnes gentes una lex et sempiterna et immortalis continebit, unusque erit quasi magister, et imperator omnium Deus. Fragm. lib. 3. de Repub.

Ut porro firmissimum hoc adferri videtur, cur Deos esse credamus, quod nulla gens tam fera,—cujus mentem non imbuerit Deorum opinio—omni autem in re consensio omnium gentium lex naturæ putanda est. [Tusc. Quæst. 1. 14.] Hæc igitur et talia innumerabilia cum cerninus? possumusne dubitare, quin his præsit aliquis vel effector, (si hæc nata sunt, ut Platoni videtur,) vel, (si semper fuerunt, ut

He believed also a Divine providence, constantly presiding over the whole system, and extending its care to all the principal members of it; with a peculiar attention to the conduct and actions of men; but leaving the minute and inferior parts to the course of his general laws. This he collected from the nature and attributes of the Deity; his omniscience, omnipresence, and infinite goodness; that could never desert or neglect what he had once produced into being: and declares that, without this belief, there could be no such thing as piety or religion in the world.*

He held, likewise, the immortality of the soul, and its separate existence after death, in a state of happiness or misery. This he inferred from that ardent thirst of immortality, which was always the most conspicuous in the best and most exalted minds; from which the true specimen of their nature must needs be drawn: from its unmixed and indivisible essence; which had nothing separable or perishable in it: from its wonderful powers and faculties; its principle of self-motion; its memory, invention, wit, comprehension; which were all incompatible with sluggish matter.†

The stoics fancied, that the soul was a subtilized, fiery substance, which survived the body after death,

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Aristoteli placet) moderator tanti operis et muneris. [Ib. 28.] Id est primum, quod inter omnes, nisi admodum impios, convenit, mihi quidem ex animo exuri non potest, esse Deos. [Nat. Deor. 3. 3.] Esse præstantem aliquam, æternamque naturam, et eam suspiciendam, admirandamque hominum generi, pulchritudo mundi, ordoque rerum cœlestium cogit confiteri. [De Divin. 2. 72.] Quæ quanto consilio gerantur, nullo consilio assequi possumus. De Nat. Deor. 2. 38.

* De maxima autem re, eodem modo; divina mente atque natura mundum universum atque maximas ejus partes administrari [De Fin. 4. 5.] Quam vim animum esse dicunt mundi, eandemque esse mentem sapientiamque perfectam; quem Deum appellant, omniumque rerum, quæ sunt ei subjectæ, quasi prudentiam quandam, procurantem cœlestia maxime, deinde in terris ea, quæ pertinent ad homines. Academ. 1. 8. Vid. Nat. Deor. 1, 2, 44. 2. 66. 3. 36.

† Quod quidem ni ita se haberet, ut animi immortales essent, haud optimi cujusque animus maxime ad immortalitatem niteretur, [Cato. 23.] Num dubitas quin specimen naturæ capi debeat ex optima quaque natura? [Tusc. Quæst. 1. 14.] Sic mihi persuasi, sic sentio, cum tanta celeritas animorum sit, tanta memoria præteritorum, futurorumque prudentia, tot artes, tot scientiæ, tot inventa, non posse eam naturam, quæ res eas contineat, esse mortalem: cumque semper agitetur animus, &c. Cato. 21. Tusc. Quæst. 1, 23, 25, 26, &c. De Amicit. 4.

and subsisted a long time, yet not eternally; but was to perish, at last, in the general conflagration. In which they allowed, as Cicero says, the only thing that was hard to conceive; its separate existence from the body; yet denied what was not only easy to imagine, but a consequence of the other—its eternal duration.* Aristotle taught, that, besides the four elements of the material world, whence all other things were supposed to draw their being, there was a fifth essence or nature, peculiar to God and the soul, which had nothing in it that was common to any of the rest.† This opinion Cicero followed, and illustrated, with his usual perspicuity, in the following passage:—

"The origin of the human soul," says he, "is "not to be found any where on earth. There is no- "thing mixed, concrete, or earthly; nothing of water, "air, or fire in it. For these natures are not sus- "ceptible of memory, intelligence, or thought; have "nothing that can retain the past, foresee the future, "lay hold on the present; which faculties are purely "Divine, and could not possibly be derived to man, "except from God. The nature of the soul, there- "fore, is of a singular kind; distinct from these known "and obvious natures: and whatever it be that "feels and tastes, that lives and moves in us, it must "be heavenly and Divine, and for that reason eter- "nal. Nor is God indeed himself, whose existence "we clearly discover, to be comprehended by us in "any other manner, but as a free and pure mind, "clear from all mortal concretion; observing and "moving all things, and endued with an eternal "principle of self-motion: of this kind, and of the "same nature, is the human soul."‡

As to a future state of rewards and punishments,

* Zenoni Stoico animus ignis videtur. [Tusc. Quæst. 1. 9.] Stoici autem usuram nobis largiuntur, tanquam cornicibus; diu mansuros aiunt animos, semper negant—qui, quod in tota hac causa difficillimum est, suscipiunt, posse animum manere corpore vacantem: illud autem, quod non modo facile ad credendum est, sed, eo concesso quod volunt, consequens idcirco, non dant, ut cum diu permanserit ne intereat. Ib. 1. 31, 32.

† Ib. x. ‡ Ib. 27.

he considered it as a consequence of the soul's immortality, deducible from the attributes of God, and the condition of man's life on earth; and thought it, so highly probable, that we could hardly doubt of it, he says, unless it should happen to our minds, when they look into themselves, as it does to our eyes, when they look too intensely at the sun, that finding their sight dazzled, they give over looking at all.* In this opinion he followed Socrates and Plato, for whose judgment he professes so great a reverence, that, if they had given no reasons, where yet they had given many, he should have been persuaded, he says, by their sole authority.† Socrates, therefore, as he tells us, declared, in his dying speech, that there were two ways appointed to human souls, at their departure from the body: that those who had been immersed in sensual pleasures and lusts, and had polluted themselves with private vices, or public crimes against their country, took an obscure and devious road, remote from the seat and assembly of the gods; whilst those who had preserved their integrity, and received little or no contagion from the body, from which they had constantly abstracted themselves, and, in the bodies of men, imitated the life of the gods, had an easy ascent lying open before them to those gods, from whom they derived their being.‡

From what has already been said, the reader will easily imagine what Cicero's opinion must have been concerning the religion of his country: for a mind, enlightened by the noble principles just stated, could not possibly harbour a thought of the truth or divinity of so absurd a worship: and the liberty, which not only he, but all the old writers take, in ridiculing the characters of their gods, and the fic-

* Nec vero de hoc quisquam dubitare posset, nisi idem nobis acciderit diligenter de animo cogitantibus, quod his sæpe usu venit, qui acriter oculis deficientem solem intuerentur, ut aspectum omnino amitterent, &c. Tusc. Quæst. 1. 30.

† Ib. 21. de Amicit. 4.

‡ Ib. 30.

tions of their infernal torments,* shews, that there was not a man of liberal education, who did not consider it as an engine of state, or political system; contrived for the uses of government, and to keep the people in order: in this light Cicero always commends it, as a wise institution; singularly adapted to the genius of Rome; and constantly inculcates an adherence to its rites, as the duty of all good citizens.†

Their religion consisted of two principal branches; the observation of the auspices, and the worship of the gods: the first was instituted by Romulus; the second by his successor, Numa; who drew up a ritual, or order of ceremonies to be observed in the different sacrifices of their several deities: to these a third part was afterwards added; relating to Divine admonitions from portents, monstrous births, the entrails of beasts in sacrifice, and the prophecies of the sibyls.‡ The college of augurs presided over the auspices, as the supreme interpreters of the will of Jove: and determined what signs were propitious,

* Dic quæso, num te illa terrent? triceps apud inferos Cerberus? Cocyti fremitus? transvectio Acherontis?—adeone me delirare censes ut ista credam? [Ib. 1. 5, 6, 21.] Quæ anus tam excors inveniri potest, quæ illa, quæ quondam credebantur, apud inferos portenta extimescat? De Nat. Deor. 2. 2.

† Ordiar ab Haruspicina, quam ego Reipub. causa communisque religionis, colendam censeo. [De Divin. 2. 12.] Nam et Majorum instituta tueri sacris cæremoniisque retinendis sapientis est. Ib. 72. De Leg. 2. 12, 13.—

N. B. There is a reflection in Polybius, exactly conformable to Cicero's sentiments on this subject. "The greatest advantage," says he, "which the Roman govern-"ment seems to have over other states, is in the opinion publicly entertained by them "about the gods; and that very thing, which is so generally decried by other mor-"tals, sustained the republic of Rome: I mean superstition. For this was carried by "them to such a height, and introduced so effectually, both into the private lives of "the citizens, and the public affairs of the city, that one cannot help being surprised "at it. But I take it all to have been contrived for the sake of the populace. For "if a society could be formed of wise men only, such a scheme would not be neces-"sary: but since the multitude is always giddy, and agitated by illicit desires, wild "resentments, violent passions; there was no way left of restraining them, but by the "help of such secret terrors and tragical fictions. It was not, therefore, without "great prudence and foresight, that the ancients took care to instil into them these "notions of the gods and infernal punishments, which the moderns, on the other "hand, are now rashly and absurdly endeavouring to extirpate." Polyb. l. 6. p. 497.

‡ Cum omnis populi Romani religio in sacra et in auspicia divisa sit, tertium adjunctum sit, si quid prædictionis causa ex portentis et monstris Sibyllæ interpretes, haruspices ve monuerunt. De Nat. Deor. 3. 2.

and what not: the other priests were the judges of all the other cases relating to religion; as well as what concerned the public worship, as that of private families.*

Now the priests of all denominations were of the first nobility of Rome; and the augurs, especially, were commonly senators of consular rank, who had passed through all the dignities of the republic, and, by their power over the auspices, could put an immediate stop to all proceedings, and dissolve, at once, all the assemblies of the people convened for public business. The interpretation of the sibyl's prophecies was vested in the decemviri, or guardians of the sibylline books, ten persons of distinguished rank, chosen usually from the priests: and the province of interpreting prodigies, and inspecting the entrails, belonged to the haruspices, who were the servants of the public, hired to attend the magistrates in all their sacrifices; and who never failed to accommodate their answers to the views of those who employed them, and to whose protection they owed their credit and their livelihood.

This constitution of a religion, among a people naturally superstitious, necessarily threw the chief influence in affairs into the hands of the senate, and the better sort; who, by this advantage, frequently checked the violences of the populace, and the factious attempts of the tribunes:† so that it is perpetually applauded by Cicero, as the main bulwark of the republic: though considered all the while, by men of sense, as merely political, and of human invention. The only part, that admitted any dispute concerning its origin, was augury, or their method of divining by auspices. The stoics held, that God, out of his goodness to man, had imprinted,

* —Cur sacris pontifices, cur auspiciis augures præsunt? [Ib. 1. 44.] Est autem boni auguris, meminisse maximis Reipub. temporibus præsto esse debere, Jovique optimo maximo se consiliarum atque administrum datum. De Leg. 3. 19.

† Omnibus magistratibus auspicia—dantur, ut multos inutiles comitiatus, probabiles impedirent moræ: sæpe enim populi impetum injustum auspiciis Dii immortales repressernnt. De Leg. 3. 12.

on the nature of things, certain marks or notices of future events; as on the entrails of beasts, the flight of birds, thunder, and other celestial signs, which, by long observation, and the experience of ages, were reduced to an art, by which the meaning of each sign might be determined and applied to the event, that was signified by it. This they called artificial divination, in distinction from the natural; which they supposed to flow from an instinct, or native power, implanted in the soul, which it exerted always with the greatest efficacy, when it was the most free and disengaged from the body, as in dreams and madness.* But this notion was generally ridiculed by the other philosophers: and of all the college of augurs, there was but one, at this time, who maintained it, Appius Claudius; who was laughed at for his pains by the rest, and called the Pisidian:† it occasioned, however, a smart controversy between him and his colleague, Marcellus, who severally published books on each side of the question; wherein Marcellus asserted the whole affair to be the contrivance of statesmen; Appius, on the contrary, that there was a real art and power of divining, subsisting in the augural discipline, and taught by the augural books.‡ Appius dedicated this treatise to Cicero:§ who, though he preferred Marcellus's notion, yet did not wholly agree with either, but believed, that augury might probably be instituted, at first, upon a persuasion of its divinity; and when, by the improvements of arts, and learning, that opi-

* Duo sunt enim divinandi genera, quorum alterum artis est, alterum naturæ—est enim vis et natura quædam, quæ aum observatis longo tempore significationibus, tum aliquo instinctu, inflatuque divino futura prænunciat. De Div. 1. 6. Vid. it. ib. 18.

†Quem irridebant Collegæ tui, eumque tum Pisidam, tum Soranum Augurum esse dicebant. Ib. 47.

The Pisidians were a barbarous people of the lesser Asia; famous for their superstitious observation of the auspices, or their divination by the flight of birds. De Div. 1. 41, 42.

‡ Sed est in Collegio vestro inter Marcellum et Appium, optimos Augures, magna dissensio:—cum alteri placeat, auspicia ista ad utilitatem Reipub. composita; alteri disciplina vestra quasi divinare prorsus posse videatur. De Leg. 2. 13.

§ Illo libro Augurali, quem ad me amantissime scriptum, suavissimum misisti. Ep. Fam. 3. 4.

nion was exploded in succeeding ages, yet the thing itself was wisely retained, for the sake of its use to the republic.*

But whatever was the origin of the religion of Rome, Cicero's religion was undoubtedly of heavenly extraction; built, as we have seen, on the foundation of a God; a Providence; an immortality. He considered this short period of our life on earth, as a state of trial, or a kind of school; in which we were to improve and prepare ourselves for that eternity of existence, which was provided for us hereafter; that we were placed, therefore, here by the Creator, not so much to inhabit the earth, as to contemplate the heavens; on which were imprinted, in legible characters, all the duties of that nature, which was given to us. He observed, that this spectacle belonged to no other animal but man; to whom God, for that reason, had given an erect and upright form; with eyes not prone or fixed upon the ground, like those of other animals, but placed on high and sublime; in a situation the most proper for this celestial contemplation; to remind him perpetually of his task, and to acquaint him with the place from which he sprung, and for which he was finally designed.† He took the system of the world, or the visible works of God, to be the promulgation of God's law, or the declaration of his will to mankind; whence, as we might collect his being, nature, and attributes, so we could trace the reasons also and motives of his acting; till, by observing what he had done, we might learn what we ought to do, and, by the operations of the divine reason, be instructed

* Non enim sumus ii nos Augures, qui avium, reliquorumque signorum observatione futura dicamus: et tamen credo Romulum, qui urbem auspicato condidit, habuisse opinionem, esse in providendis rebus augurandi scientiam. Errabat multis in rebus Antiquitas, &c. De Div. 2. 33.

† Sed credo Deos sparsisse animos in corpora humana, ut essent qui terras tuerentur, quique cœlestium ordinem contemplantes, imitarentur eum vitæ modo et constantia, &c. [Cato 21.] Nam cum cæteras animantes abjecisset ad pastum, solum hominem erexit, ad cœlique quasi cogtationis, domiciliique pristini conspectum excitavit. [De Leg. 1. 9.] Ipse autem homo ortus est ad mundum contemplandum, et imitandum, nullo modo perfectus, sed est quædam particula perfecti. Nat. Deor. 2. 14. 56.

how to perfect our own; since the perfection of man consisted in the imitation of God.

From this source he deduced the origin of all duty or moral obligation; from the will of God, manifested in his works; or from that eternal reason, fitness, and relation of things, which is displayed in every part of the creation. This he calls the original immutable law; the criterion of good and ill; of just and unjust, imprinted on the nature of things, as the rule by which all human laws are to be formed; which whenever they deviate from this pattern, ought, he says, to be called any thing rather than laws; and are, in effect, nothing but acts of force, violence, and tyranny: that to imagine the distinction of good and ill, not to be founded in nature, but in custom, opinion, or human institution, is mere folly and madness; which would overthrow all society, and confound all right and justice amongst men:* that this was the constant opinion of the wisest of all ages; who held, that the mind of God, governing all things by eternal reason, was the principal and sovereign law; whose substitute on earth, was the reason or mind of the wise, to which purpose there are many strong and beautiful passages, scattered occasionally through every part of his works.†

"The true law," says he, "is right reason, con-

* Sed etiam modestiam quandam cognitio rerum cœlestium adfert iis, qui videant quanta sit etiam apud Deos moderatio, quantus ordo; et magnitudinem animi, Deorum opera et facta cernentibus; justitiam etiam, cum cognitum habeas, quid sit summi Rectoris et Domini numen, quod consilium, quæ voluntas; cujus ad naturam apta ratio vera illa et summa lex a Philosophis dicitur. De Fin. 4. 5.

Nos legem bonam a mala, nulla alia nisi naturæ norma dividere possumus. Nec solum jus et injuria natura dijudicantur, sed omnino omnia honesta ac turpia; nam et communis intelligentia nobis notas res efficit, easque in animis nostris inchoat, ut honesta in virtute ponantur, in vitiis turpia. Ea autem in opinione existimare, non in natura posita, dementis est. [De Leg. 1. 16.] Erat enim ratio profecta a rerum natura; et ad recte faciendum impellens, et a delicto avocans; quæ non tum demum incipit ex esse, cum scripta est, sed tum, cum orta est; orta autem simul est cum mente divina: quamobrem lex vera, atque princeps, apta ad jubendum et ad vetandum, recta est ratio summi Jovis, &c. De Leg. 2. 4. 5, &c.

† Hanc igitur video sapientissimorum fuisse sententiam, legem neque hominum ingeniis excogitatam, nec Scitum aliquod esse populorum, sed æternum quiddam, quod universum mundum regeret, imperandi, prohibendique sapientia, &c. Ib. &c.

"formable to the nature of things; constant, eter-
"nal, diffused through all; which calls us to duty
"by commanding, deters us from sin by forbidding;
"which never loses its influence with the good; nor
"ever preserves it with the wicked. This cannot
"possibly be overruled by any other law; nor
"abrogated in the whole or in part; nor can we be
"absolved from it either by the senate or the peo-
"ple: nor are we to seek any other comment or
"interpreter of it, but itself: nor can there be one
"law at Rome, another at Athens; one now, ano-
"ther hereafter; but the same eternal, immutable
"law, comprehends all nations, at all times, under
"one common Master and Governor of all, God.
"He is the inventor, propounder, enacter of this
"law: and whosoever will not obey it, must first
"renounce himself, and throw off the nature of man:
"by doing which, he will suffer the greatest pu-
"nishment, though he should escape all the other
"torments which are commonly believed to be pre-
"pared for the wicked."*

In another place he tells us, that the study of this law was the only thing which could teach us that most important of all lessons, said to be prescribed by the Pythian oracle, to know ourselves; that is, to know our true nature and rank in the universal system; the relation that we bear to all other beings; and the purposes for which we were sent into the world. "When a man," says he, "has attentively surveyed the heavens, the earth, "the sea, and all things in them; observed whence "they sprung, and whither they all tend; when and "how they are to end; what part is mortal and "perishable, what Divine and eternal: when he has "almost reached and touched, as it were, the Go-
"vernor and Ruler of them all, and discovered him-
"self not to be confined to the walls of any certain
"place, but a citizen of the world, as of the com-

* Fragm. lib. 3. de Repub. ex Lactantio.

" mon city; in this magnificent view of things; in " this enlarged prospect and knowledge of nature; " good gods, how will he learn to know himself? " How will he contemn, despise, and set at nought " all those things, which the vulgar esteem the most " splendid and glorious?"*

These were the principles on which Cicero built his religion and morality; which shine, indeed, through all his writings, but were largely and explicitly illustrated by him in his treatises on Government and on Laws; to which he added, afterwards, his Book of Offices, to make the scheme complete: volumes which, as the elder Pliny says to the emperor Titus, ought not only to be read, but to be got by heart.† The first and greatest of these works is lost, excepting a few fragments, in which he had delivered his real thoughts so professedly, that, in a letter to Atticus, he calls those six books on the Republic, so many pledges given to his country, for the integrity of his life; from which, if ever he swerved, he could never have the face to look into them again.‡ In this Book of Laws, he pursued the same argument, and deduced the origin of law from the will of the Supreme God. These two pieces, therefore, contain his belief, and the Book of Offices his practice; where he has traced out all the duties of man, or a rule of life, conformable to the Divine principles, which he had established in the other two; to which he often refers, as to the foundation of his whole system.§ This work was one of the last that he finished, for the use of his son, to whom he addressed it; being desirous, in the decline of a glorious life, to explain to him the maxims by which he had governed it; and teach him the way of passing through the world with in-

* De Leg. 1. 23.

† Quæ volumina ejus ediscenda non modo in manibus habenda quotidie, nosti. Præf. ad Hist. Nat.

‡ Præsertim cum sex libris, tanquam prædibus, meipsum obstrinxerim; quos tibi tam valde probari gaudeo. [Ad Att. 6. 1.] Ego audebo legere unquam, aut attingere eos libros, quos tu dilaudas, si tale quid fecero? Ib. 2.

§ Offic. 3. 5, 6. 17.

nocence, virtue, and true glory, to an immortallity of happiness: where the strictness of his morals, adapted to all the various cases and circumstances of human life, will serve, if not to instruct, yet to reproach the practice of most Christians. This was that law, which is mentioned by St. Paul, to be taught by nature, and written on the hearts of the Gentiles, to guide them through that state of ignorance and darkness of which they themselves complained, till they should be blessed with a more perfect revelation of the Divine will; and this scheme of it, professed by Cicero, was certainly the most complete that the Gentile world had ever been acquainted with; the utmost effort that human nature could make, towards attaining its proper end; or that supreme good, for which the Creator had designed it: upon the contemplation of which sublime truths, as delivered by a heathen, Erasmus could not help persuading himself, that the breast from which they flowed must needs have been inspired by the Deity.*

But after all these glorious sentiments that we have been ascribing to Cicero, and collecting from his writings, some have been apt to consider them, as the flourishes rather of his eloquence, than the conclusions of his reason; since, in other parts of his works, he seems to intimate, not only a diffidence, but a disbelief of the immortallity of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments; and especially in his letters, where he is supposed to declare his mind with the greatest frankness.† But in all

* Quid aliis accidat nescio; me legentem sic afficere solet M. Tullius, præsertim ubi de bene vivendo disserit, ut dubitare non possim, quin illud pectus, unde ista prodierunt, aliqua divinitas occuparit. Erasm. Ep. ad Joh. Ulattenum.

† Sæpissime et legi et audivi, nihil mali esse in morte; in qua si resideat sensus, immortalitas illa potius, quam mors ducenda est: sin sit amissus, nulla videri miseria debeat, quæ non sentiatur. [Ep. Fam. 5. 16.] Ut hoc saltem in maximis malis boni consequamur, ut mortem, quam etiam beati contemnere debeamus, propterea quod nullum sensum esset habitura, nunc sic affecti, non modo contemnere debeamus, sed etiam optare. [Ib. 21.] Sed hæc consolatio levis; illa gravior, qua te uti spero, ego certe utor: nec enim dum ero, angar ulla re, cum omni vacem culpa; et si non ero, sensu omnino carebo. [Ib. 6. 3.] Deinde—si jam vocer ad exitum vitæ, non ab ea Rep. avellar, qua carendum esse doleam, præsertim cum id sine ullo

the passages brought to support this objection, where he is imagined to speak of death as the end of all things to man, as they are addressed to friends in distress, by way of consolation, as some commentators take them to mean nothing more than that death is the end of all things here below, and without any farther sense of what is done upon earth: yet should they be understood to relate, as perhaps they may, to an utter extinction of our being; it must be observed, that he was writing, in all probability, to Epicureans,* and accommodating his arguments to the men; by offering such topics of comfort to them from their own philosophy, as they themselves held to be the most effectual. But if this also should seem precarious, we must remember always that Cicero was an Academic; and though he believed in a future state, was fond of the opinion, and declares himself resolved never to part with it; yet he believed it as probable only, not as certain:† and as probability implies some mixture of doubt, and admits the degrees of more and less, so it admits also some variety in the stability of our persuasion: thus, in a melancholy hour, when his spirits were depressed, the same argument would

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sensu futurum sit. [Ib. 4.] Una ratio videtur, quicquid evenerit, ferre moderate, præsertim cum omnium rerum mors sit extremum. [Ib. 21.] Sed de illa—fors viderit, aut si quis est, qui curet Deus. Ad Att. 4. x.

N. B. By this illustration of Cicero's moral principles, we learn the force of that rule, which he frequently prescribes, of following nature, as the sure and unerring guide of life: [De Leg. 1. 6. de Senect. 2. de Amicit. 5.] by which he means that law or will of God, displayed in the nature of things; not, as some are apt to interpret him, the dictates of our unruly passions, which are falsely called natural; being the motions only of vitiated appetites, and the creatures of habit, not of nature: the gratification of which, as he tells us, is more contrary to nature, and consequently more to be avoided than poverty, pain, or even death itself. [Offic. 3. 5, 6.]

* This will appear to be a very probable supposition, when we recollect that the generality of the Roman nobility, and of Cicero's friends, were of the Epicurean sect; and particularly the family of Torquatus, to whom two of these very letters are addressed. Accurate quondam a L. Torquato, homine omni doctrina erudito, defensa est Epicuri sententia de voluptate, a meque ei responsum. De Fin. 1. 5.

† Quod si in hoc erro, quod animos hominum immortales esse credam, lubenter erro. Nec mihi hunc errorem, quo delector, dum vivo, extorqueri volo. Cato. 23. Geram tibi morem, et ea, quæ vis, ut potero, explicabo: nec tamen quasi Pythius Apollo, certa ut sint et fixa quæ dixero: sed ut homunculus unus e multis, probabilia conjectura sequens. Tusc. Quæst. 1. 9.

not appear to him with the same force; but doubts and difficulties get the ascendant, and what humoured his present chagrin, find the readiest admission. The passages alleged were all of this kind, written in the season of his dejection, when all things were going wrong with him, in the height of Cæsar's power; and though we allow them to have all the force that they can possibly bear, and to express what Cicero really meant at that time, yet they prove at last nothing more than that agreeably to the character and principles of the Academy, he sometimes doubted of what he generally believed. But, after all, whatever be the sense of them, it cannot surely be thought reasonable to oppose a few scattered hints, accidentally thrown out, when he was not considering the subject, to the volumes that he had deliberately written on the other side of the question.*

As to his political conduct, no man was ever a more determined patriot, or a warmer lover of his country, than he: his whole character, natural temper, choice of life and principle, made its true interest inseparble from his own. His general view, therefore, was always one and the same, to support the peace and liberty of the republic, in that form and constitution of it which their ancestors had delivered down to them.† He looked upon that as

* From this general view of Cicero's religion, one cannot help observing, that the most exalted state of human reason is so far from superseding the use, that it demonstrates the benefit of a more explicit revelation: for though the natural law, in the perfection to which it was carried by Cicero, might serve for a sufficient guide to the few, such as himself, of enlarged minds and happy dispositions, yet it had been so long depraved and adulterated by the prevailing errors and vices of mankind, that it was not discoverable even to those few, without great pains and study, and could not produce in them, at last, any thing more than a hope, never a full persuasion; whilst the greatest part of mankind, even of the virtuous and inquisitive, lived without the knowledge of a God, or the expectation of a futurity, and the multitude in every country was left to the gross idolatry of the popular worship. When we reflect on all this, we must needs see abundant reason to be thankful to God, for the Divine light of his gospel, which has revealed, at last, to babes, what was hidden from the wise; and, without the pains of searching, or danger of mistaking, has given us not only the hope, but the assurance of happiness, and made us not only the believers, but the heirs of immortality.

† Sic tibi, mi Pæte, persuade, me dies et noctes nihil aliud agere, nihil curare, nisi ut mei cives salvi liberique sint. Ep. Fam. 1. 24.

the only foundation on which it could be supported, and used to quote a verse of old Ennius, as the dictate of an oracle, which derived all the glory of Rome from an adherence to its ancient manners and discipline:

Moribus antiquis stat res Romana virisque.*

It is one of his maxims, which he inculcates in his writings, that, as the end of a pilot is a prosperous voyage; of a physician, the health of his patient; of a general, victory; so that of a statesman is, to make his citizens happy, to make them firm in power, rich in wealth, splendid in glory, eminent in virtue; which he declares to be the greatest and best of all works among men:† and, as this cannot be effected, but by the concord and harmony of the constituent members of a city;‡ so it was his constant aim to unite the different orders of the state into one common interest, and to inspire them with a mutual confidence in each other, so as to balance the supremacy of the people, by the authority of the senate; that the one should enact, but the other advise; the one have the last resort, the other the chief influence.§ This was the old constitution of Rome, by which it had raised itself to all its grandeur, whilst all its misfortunes were owing to the contrary principle—of distrust and dissension between these two rival powers: it was the great object, therefore, of his policy, to throw the ascendant, in all affairs, into the hands of the senate and the magistrates, as far as it was consistent with the rights and liberties of the people; which will always be the ge-

* Quem quidem ille versum vel brevitate vel veritate, tanquam ex Oraculo mihi quodam effatus videtur, &c. vid. Fragm. de Repub. l. 5.

† Ut gubernatori cursus secundus—sic huic moderatori Reip. beata civium proposita est, &c. vid. ib.

‡ Quæ harmonia a Musicis dicitur in cantu, ea est in civitate concordia, arctissimum atque optimum omni in Repub. vinculum incolumitatis, &c. Ib. l. 2.

§ Nam—si Senatus dominus sit publici consilii—possit, ex temperatione juris, cum potestas in populo, auctoritas in Senatu sit, teneri ille moderatus et concors civitatis status. De Leg. 3. 12. it. ib. 17.

neral view of the wise and honest in all popular governments.

This was the principle which he espoused from the beginning, and pursued to the end of his life: and though, in some passages of his history, he may be thought, perhaps, to have deviated from it, yet, upon an impartial review of the case, we shall find that his end was always the same, though he had changed his measures of pursuing it when compelled to it by the violence of the times, and an overruling force, and a necessary regard to his own safety; so that he might say, with great truth, what an Athenian orator once said, in excuse of his inconstancy, that he had acted, indeed, on some occasions, contrary to himself, but never to the republic:* and here also his Academic philosophy seems to have shewed its superior use in practical, as well as in speculative life, by indulging that liberty of acting which nature and reason require, and, when the times and things themselves are changed, allowing a change of conduct, and a recourse to new means, for the attainment of the same end.

The three sects, which, at this time, chiefly engrossed the philosophical part of Rome, were, the Stoic, the Epicurean, and the Academic; and the chief ornaments of each were, Cato, Atticus, and Cicero, who lived together in strict friendship, and a mutual esteem of each other's virtue; but the different behaviour of these three will shew, by fact and example, the different merit of their several principles, and which of them was the best adapted to promote the good of society.

The stoics were the bigots or enthusiasts in philosophy, who held none to be truly wise or good but themselves; placed perfect happiness in virtue, though stripped of every other good; affirmed all sins to be equal; all deviations from right equally wicked; to kill a dunghill cock, without reason,

* Plut. de Demade. in vit. Demost. p. 851. Edit. Par.

the same crime as to kill a parent; that a wise man could never forgive; never be moved by anger, favour, or pity; never be deceived; never repent; never change his mind.* With these principles, Cato entered into public life, and acted in it, as Cicero says, as if he had lived in the polity of Plato, not in the dregs of Romulus.† He made no distinction of times or things; no allowance for the weakness of the republic, and the power of those who oppressed it: it was his maxim to combat all power not built upon the laws, or to defy it, at least, if he could not control it: he knew no way to his end; but the direct; and, whatever obstructions he met with, resolved still to rush on, and either to surmount them, or perish in the attempt; taking it for a baseness and confession of being conquered, to decline a tittle from the true road. In an age, therefore, of the utmost libertinism, when the public discipline was lost, and the government itself tottering, he struggled with the same zeal against all corruption, and waged a perpetual war with a superior force, whilst the rigour of his principles tended rather to alienate friends, than reconcile enemies; and, by provoking the power that he could not subdue, helped to hasten that ruin which he was striving to avert:‡ so that, after a perpetual course of disappointments and repulses, finding himself unable to pursue his old way any farther, instead of taking a new one, he was driven by his philosophy to put an end to his life.

But as the stoics exalted human nature too high, so the Epicureans depressed it too low; as those

* Sapientem gratia nunquam moveri, nunquam cujusquam delicto ignoscere; neminem misericordem esse, nisi stultum; viri non esse, neque exorari, neque placari; omnia peccata esse paria—nec minus delinquere eum, qui gallum gallinaceum, cum opus non fuerit, quam eum, qui patrem suffocaverit: sapientem nihil opinari, nullius rei pœnitere, nulla in re falli, sententiam mutare nunquam. Pro Muræn. 29.

† Dicit enim tanquam in Platonis πολιτεία, non tanquam in Romuli fæce, sententiam. Ad Att. 2. 1. p. 178.

‡ Pompeium et Cæsarem, quorum nemo alterum offendere audebat, nisi ut alterum demereretur, [Cato] simul provocavit. Sen. Ep. 104.

raised it to the heroic, these debased it to the brutal state: they held pleasure to be the chief good of man, death the extinction of his being, and placed their happiness, consequently, in the secure enjoyment of a pleasurable life, esteeming virtue on no other account, than as it was a handmaid to pleasure and helped to ensure the possession of it, by preserving health, and conciliating friends. Their wise man, therefore, had no other duty, but to provide for his own ease; to decline all struggles; to retire from public affairs, and to imitate the life of their gods, by passing his days in a calm, contemplative, undisturbed repose, in the midst of rural shades and pleasant gardens. This was the scheme that Atticus followed: he had all the talents that could qualify a man to be useful to society, great parts, learning, judgment, candour, benevolence, generosity, the same love of his country, and the same sentiments in politics with Cicero,* whom he was always advising, and urging to act, yet determined never to act himself, or never, at least, so far as to disturb his ease, or endanger his safety. For though he was so strictly united with Cicero, and valued him above all men, yet he managed an interest all the while with the opposite faction, and a friendship even with his mortal enemies, Clodius and Antony; that he might secure against all events the grand point, which he had in view, the peace and tranquillity of his life. Thus two excellent men, by their mistaken notions of virtue, drawn from the principles of their philosophy, were made useless in a manner to their country; each in a different extreme of life; the one always acting and exposing himself to dangers, without the prospect of doing good; the other, without attempting to do any, resolving never to act at all.

Cicero chose the middle way between the obsti-

* In Repub. ita est versatus, ut semper optimarum partium et esset, et existimaretur; neque tamen se civilibus fluctibus committeret. Corn. Nep. vit. Att. 6.

nacy of Cato, and the indolence of Atticus: he preferred always the readiest road to what was right, if it lay open to him; if not, took the next, that seemed likely to bring him to the same end; and in politics as in morality, when he could not arrive at the true, contented himself with the probable. He often compares the statesman to the pilot; whose art consists in managing every turn of the winds, and applying even the most perverse to the progress of his voyage; so as by changing his course, and enlarging his circuit of sailing, to arrive with safety, though later, at his destined port:* he mentions, likewise, an observation, which long experience had confirmed to him, that none of the popular and ambitious, who aspired to extraordinary commands, and to be leaders in the republic, ever chose to obtain their ends from the people, till they had first been repulsed by the senate.† This was verified by all their civil dissensions, from the Gracchi down to Cæsar; so that when he saw men of this spirit at the head of the government; who, by the splendour of their lives and actions, had acquired an ascendant over the populace; it was his constant advice to the senate, to gain them by gentle compliances, and to gratify their thirst of power by voluntary grants of it, as the best way to moderate their ambition, and reclaim them from desperate counsels. He declared contention to be no longer prudent than while it either did service, or at least no hurt; but when faction was grown too strong to be withstood, that it was time to give over fighting; and nothing left but to extract some good out of ill, by mitigating that power by patience, which they could not reduce

* Nunquam enim præstantibus in Repub. gubernanda viris laudata est in una sententia perpetua permansio: sed ut in navigando tempestati obsequi artis est, etiamsi portum tenere non queas: cum vero id possis mutata velificatione assequi, stultum est eum tenere cursum cum periculo quem ceperis, potius quam, eo commutato, quo velis tandem pervenire, &c. Ep. Fam. 1. 9.

† Neminem unquam est hic ordo amplexus honoribus et beneficiis suis, qui ullam dignitatem præstabiliorem ea, quam per vos esset adeptus, putarit. Nemo unquam hic potuit esse princeps, qui maluerit esse popularis. De Provin. Consular. 16. it. Philip. 5. 18.

by force, and conciliating it, if possible, to the interests of the state.* This was what he advised and what he practised: and it will account, in a great measure, for those parts of his conduct, which are the most liable to exception, on the account of that complaisance, which he is supposed to have paid at different times to the several usurpers of illegal power.

He made a just distinction between bearing what we cannot help, and approving what we ought to condemn;† and submitted, therefore, yet never consented to those usurpations; and when he was forced to comply with them, did it always with a reluctance, that he expresses very keenly in his letters to his friends. But whenever that force was removed, and he was at liberty to pursue his principles, and act without control, as in his consulship, in his province, and after Cæsar's death; the only periods of his life, in which he was truly master of himself; there we see him shining out in his genuine character, of an excellent citizen; a great magistrate; a glorious patriot: there we see the man, who could declare of himself, with truth, in an appeal to Atticus, as to the best witness of his conscience, that he had always done the greatest services to his country, when it was in his power; or when it was not, had never harboured a thought of it, but what was Divine.‡ If we must needs compare him, therefore, with Cato, as some writers affect to do; it is certain, that if Cato's virtue seem more splendid in theory, Cicero's will be found superior in practice: the one was romantic, the other rational; the one drawn from the refinements of the

* Sed contentio tamdiu sapiens est, quamdiu aut proficit aliquid, aut si non proficit, non obest civitati: voluimus quædam, contendimus, experti sumus, non obtenta sunt. Pro Corn. Balbo. 27.

Sic ab hominibus doctis accepimus, non solum ex malis eligere minima oportere; sed etiam excerpere ex his ipsis si quid inesset boni. De Offic. 1. 3.

† Non enim est idem, ferre si quid ferendum est, et probare si quid probandum non est. Ep. Fam. 9. 6.

‡ Præclara igitur conscientia sustentor, cum cogito me de Repub. aut meruisse optime cum potuerim; aut certe nunquam nisi divine cogitasse. Ad Att. x. 4.

schools, the other from nature and social life: the one always unsuccessful, often hurtful, the other always beneficial, often salutary to the republic.

To conclude: Cicero's death, though violent, cannot be called untimely, but was the proper end of such a life; which must have been rendered less glorious, if it had owed its preservation to Antony. It was, therefore, what he not only expected, but, in the circumstances to which he was reduced, what he seems even to have wished.* For he, who before had been timid in dangers, and desponding in distress, yet, from the time of Cæsar's death, roused by the desperate state of the republic,† assumed the fortitude of a hero; discarded all fear; despised all danger; and when he could not free his country from a tyranny, provoked the tyrants to take that life, which he no longer cared to preserve. Thus, like a great actor on the stage, he reserved himself, as it were, for the last act: and after he had played his part with dignity, resolved to finish it with glory.

The character of his son, Marcus, has been delivered down to us in a very disadvantageous light; for he is represented, generally, both by the ancients and moderns, as stupid and vicious, and a proverb even of degeneracy;‡ yet when we come to inquire into the real state of the fact, we shall find but little ground for so scandalous a tradition.

In his early youth, while he continued under the eye and discipline of his father, he gave all imaginable proofs both of an excellent temper and genius: was modest, tractable, dutiful; diligent in his studies, and expert in his exercises: so that, in the Pharsalic war, at the age of seventeen, he acquired

* Nullum locum prætermitto monendi, agendi, providendi; hoc denique, animo sum, ut si in hac cura atque administratione, vita mihi ponenda sit, præclare actum mecum putem. Ep. Fam. 9. 24.

† Sed plane animus, qui dubiis rebus forsitan fuerit infirmior, desperatis, confirmatus est multum. Ep. Fam. 5. 21.

‡ Ciceronem filium quæ res Consulem fecit, nisi pater? Senec. de Benef. 4. 30. Nam virtutes omnes aberant; stupor et vitia aderant. Lipsii Not ad locum.

a great reputation in Pompey's camp, by his dexterity of riding, throwing the javelin, and all the other accomplishments of a young soldier.* Not long after Pompey's death, he was sent to Athens; to spend a few years in the study of philosophy and polite letters, under Cratippus, the most celebrated philosopher of that time; for whom Cicero afterwards procured the freedom of Rome.† Here, indeed, upon his first sally into the world, he was guilty of some irregularity of conduct, and extravagance of expense, that made his father uneasy; into which he was supposed to have been drawn by Gorgias, his master of rhetoric, a lover of wine and pleasure; whom Cicero, for that reason, expostulated with severely by letter, and discharged from his attendance upon him. But the young man was soon made sensible of his folly, and recalled to his duty, by the remonstrances of his friends, and particularly of Atticus: so that his father readily paid his debts, and enlarged his allowance; which seems to have been about seven hundred pounds per annum.‡

From this time, all the accounts of him from the principal men of the place, as well as his Roman friends, who had occasion to visit Athens, are constant and uniform in their praises of him; and, in terms so particular and explicit, that they could not proceed from mere compliment, or a desire of flattering Cicero; as he often signifies with pleasure to Atticus.§ Thus Trebonius, as he was passing into Asia, writes to him from Athens; "I came "hither on the twenty-first of May, where I saw "your son; and saw him, to my great joy, pursuing

* Quo in bello cum te, Pompeius alæ alteri præfecisset, magnam laudem et a summo viro, et ab exercitu consequebare, equitando, jaculando, omni militari labore tolerando. Offic. 2. 13.

† Plut. in vit. Cic.

‡ —Ad Ciceronem ita scripsisti, ulli ut neque severius, neque temperatius scribi potuerit, nec magis quam quemadmodum ego maxime vellem. Ad Att. 13. 1. it. ib. 16, 1. 15. Plut. in Cic.

§ Cæteri præclara scribunt. Leonidas tamen retinet illud suum adhuc, summis vero laudibus Herodes. [Ad Att. 15. 16.] Gratissimum, quod polliceris Ciceroni nihil defuturum; de quo mirabilia Messala. Ib. 17.

"every thing that was good, and, in the highest cre-
" dit for the modesty of his behaviour.—Do not ima-
" gine, my Cicero, that I say this to flatter you; for
" nothing can be more beloved, than your young
" man is, by all who are at Athens; nor more stu-
" dious of all those arts, which you yourself delight
" in, that is, the best. I congratulate with you,
" therefore, very heartily, which I can do with great
" truth, and not less also with myself, that he, whom
" we were obliged to love, of what temper soever
" he had happened to be, proves to be such an one,
" as we should choose to love."*

But the son's own letters gave the most solid comfort to his father; as they were written not only with great duty and affection, but with such elegance also and propriety, that they were fit, he says, to be read to a learned audience; and though, in other points, he might possibly be deceived, yet, in these, he saw a real improvement both of his taste and learning.† None of these letters are now extant, nor any other monument of young Cicero's talents, but two letters to Tiro, one of which I have chosen to transcribe, as the surest specimen both of his parts and temper; written, as we may imagine, to one of Tiro's rank, without any particular care, and in the utmost familiarity, from his residence at Athens, when he was about nineteen years old:—

" CICERO THE SON TO TIRO.

" WHILE I was expecting every day, with impa-
" tience, your messengers from Rome, they came
" at last on the forty-sixth day after they left you.
" Their arrival was extremely agreeable to me; for
" my father's most indulgent and affectionate letter

* Ep. Fam. 12. 16. vid. it. 14.

† A Cicerone mihi Litteræ sane πεπινωμέναι, et bene longæ.—Cætera autem vel fingi possunt: πῖνος litterarum significat doctiorem. [Ad Att. 14. 7.] Mehercule ipsius litteræ sic et φιλοστόργως et εὐπινῶς scriptæ, ut eas vel in acroasi audeam legere: quo magis illi indulgendum puto. Id. 15. 17. vid. ib. 16.

" gave me an exceeding joy, which was still highly
" increased by the receipt also of your's: so that,
" instead of being sorry for my late omission of
" writing, I was rather pleased that my silence had
" afforded me so particular a proof of your huma-
" nity. It is a great pleasure, therefore, to me, that
" you accepted my excuse so readily. I do not
" doubt, my dearest Tiro, but that the reports, which
" are now brought of me, give you a real satisfaction.
" It shall be my care and endeavour, that this grow-
" ing fame of me shall every day come more and
" more confirmed to you; and, since you promise
" to be the trumpeter of my praises, you may ven-
" ture to do it with assurance; for the past errors
" of my youth have mortified me so sensibly, that
" my mind does not only abhor the facts them-
" selves, but my ears cannot even endure the men-
" tion of them. I am perfectly assured that, in all
" this regret and solicitude, you have borne no small
" share with me; nor is it to be wondered at; for
" though you wish me all success, for my sake, you
" are engaged also to do it for your own; since it
" was always my resolution to make you the part-
" ner of every good that may befal me. As I have
" before, therefore, been the occasion of sorrow to
" you, so it shall now be my business to double your
" joy on my account. You must know that I live
" in the utmost intimacy with Cratippus, and like
" a son, rather than a scholar; for I not only hear
" his lectures with pleasure, but am infinitely de-
" lighted with his conversation. I spend whole
" days with him, and frequently also a part of the
" night: for I prevail with him, as often as I can,
" to sup with me; and in our familiar chat, as we
" sit at table, the night steals upon us, without
" thinking of it, whilst he lays aside the severity of
" his philosophy, and jokes amongst us with all the
" good humour imaginable. Contrive, therefore, to
" come to us as soon as possible, and see this agree-
" able and excellent man. For what need I tell

"you of Bruttius? whom I never part with out of "my sight. His life is regular and exemplary, and "his company the most entertaining: he has the "art of introducing questions of literature into "conversation, and seasoning philosophy with mirth. "I have hired a lodging for him in the next house "to me, and support his poverty, as well as I am "able, out of my narrow income. I have begun "also to declaim in Greek, under Cassius, but "choose to exercise myself in Latin with Bruttius. "I live, likewise, in great familiarity, and the per-"petual company of those, whom Cratippus brought "with him from Mitylene, who are men of learn-"ing, and highly esteemed by him. Epicrates, also, "the leading man at Athens, and Leonidas, spend "much of their time with me; and many others of "the same rank. This is the manner of my life at "present. As to what you write about Gorgias, "he was useful to me, indeed, in my daily exercise "of declaiming, but I gave up all considerations, "for the sake of obeying my father, who wrote pe-"remptorily, that I should dismiss him instantly. "I complied, therefore, without hesitation, lest, by "shewing any reluctance, I might raise in him some "suspicion of me. Besides, I reflected that it would "seem indecent in me to deliberate upon the judg-"ment of a father. Your zeal, however, and ad-"vice upon it, are very agreeable to me. I admit "your excuse of want of leisure, for I know how "much your time is commonly taken up. I am "mightily pleased with your purchase of a farm, "and heartily wish you joy of it. Do not wonder "at my congratulating you in this part of my let-"ter, for it was the same part of your's, in which "you informed me of the purchase. You have now "a place where you may drop all the forms of the "city, and are become a Roman of the old rustic "stamp. I please myself with placing your figure "before my eyes, and imagining that I see you bar-"tering for your country wares, or consulting with

" your bailiff, or carrying off from your table, in a " corner of your vest, the seeds of your fruits and " melons, for your garden. But, to be serious, I " am as much concerned as you are, that I happened " to be out of the way, and could not assist you " on that occasion: but, depend upon it, my Tiro, " I will make you easy one time or other, if fortune " does not disappoint me; especially, since I know " that you have bought this farm for the common use " of us both. I am obliged to you for your care in " executing my orders, but beg of you, that a libra- " rian may be sent to me in all haste, and especially " a Greek one; for I waste much of my time in " transcribing the lectures and books that are of " use to me: above all things, take care of your " health, that we may live to hold many learned " conferences together. I recommend Antherus to " you.—Adieu."*

This was the situation of young Cicero, when Brutus arrived at Athens; who, as it has been already said, was exceedingly taken with his virtue and good principles; of which he sent a high encomium to his father, and entrusted him, though but twenty years old, with a principal command in his army; in which he acquitted himself with a singular reputation both of courage and conduct; and in several expeditions and encounters with the enemy, where he commanded in chief, always came off victorious. After the battle of Philippi, and the death of Brutus, he escaped to Pompey, who had taken possession of Sicily with a great army, and fleet superior to any in the empire. This was the last refuge of the poor republicans, where young Cicero was received again with particular honours, and continued fighting still in the defence of his country's liberty; till Pompey, by a treaty of peace with the triumvirate, obtained, as one of the conditions of it, the pardon and restoration of all the proscribed

* Ep. Fam. 16. 21.

and exiled Romans, who were then in arms with him.*

Cicero, therefore, took his leave of Pompey, and returned to Rome with the rest of his party, where he lived for some time in the condition of a private nobleman, remote from affairs and the court of the emperor; partly through the envy of the times, averse to his name and principles; partly through choice, and his old zeal for the republican cause, which he retained still to the last. In this uneasy state, where he had nothing to rouse his virtue, or excite his ambition, it is not strange that he sunk into a life of indolence and pleasure, and the intemperate love of wine, which began to be the fashionable vice of this age, from the example of Antony, who had lately published a volume on the triumphs of his drinking. Young Cicero is said to have practised it likewise to great excess, and to have been famous for the quantity that he used to swallow at a draught: "As if he had resolved," says Pliny, "to deprive Antony, the murderer of "his father, of the glory of being the first drunkard "of the empire."†

Augustus, however, paid him the compliment, in the meanwhile, to make him a priest, or augur,‡ as well as one of those magistrates who presided over the coinage of the public money; in regard to which there is a medal still extant, with the name of Cicero on the one side, and Appius Claudius on the other, who was one of his colleagues in this office.§

* App. p. 619. 713.

† Nimirum hanc gloriam auferre Cicero voluit interfectori patris sui, Antonio. Is enim ante eum avidissime apprehenderat hanc palmam; edito etiam volumine de sua ebrietate. Plin. Hist. Nat. 14. 22.

‡ App. p. 619.

§ Vid. And. Morell. Thesaur. Numism. inter Numm. Consul. Goltzii. Tab. 33. 4.

These superintendents of the public coinage were called Treviri, or Triumviri Monetales, and in medals and old inscriptions are described thus: III. VIR. A. A. A. F. F. that is Auro, Argento, Ære Flando, Feriundo. Their number had always been three, till J. Cæsar, as it appears from several medals, enlarged it to

But upon the last breach with Antony, Augustus no sooner became the sole master of Rome, than he took him for his partner in the consulship; so that his letters, which brought the news of the victory at Actium, and conquest of Egypt, were addressed to Cicero the consul; who had the pleasure of publishing them to the senate and people; as well as of making and executing that decree, which ordered all the statutes and monuments of Antony to be demolished, and that no person of his family should ever after bear the name of Marcus. By paying this honour to the son, Augustus made some atonement for his treachery to the father: and, by giving the family this opportunity of revenging his death upon Antony, fixed the blame of it also there; while the people looked upon it as Divine and providential, that the final overthrow of Antony's name and fortunes, should by a strange revolution of affairs, be reserved for the triumph of young Cicero.* Some honours are mentioned, likewise, to have been decreed by Cicero, in this consulship, to his partner Augustus; particularly, an obsidional crown; which, though made only of the common grass that happened to be found upon the scene of action, yet, in the times of ancient discipline, was esteemed the noblest reward of military glory; and never bestowed but for the deliverance of an army, when reduced to the last distress.† This crown, there-

four: whence, in the coin of Cicero, just mentioned, we find him called IIII. VIR. There was another magistrate also, of lower rank, at Rome, called *Treviri Capitales*, who tried and judged all capital crimes among foreigners and slaves, or even citizens of inferior condition: in allusion to which, Cicero *has a pleasant joke*, in one of his letters to Trebatius, when he was attending Cæsar in his wars against the Treviri, one of the most fierce and warlike nations of Gaul:—"I admonish you," says he, "to keep out of the way of those Treviri; they are of the capital kind, I hear: I "wish, rather, that they were the coiners of gold and silver."—Ep. Fam. 7. 13.

* Plut. in Cic. Dio, p. 456. App. p. 619. 672.

† Corona quidem nulla fuit graminea nobilior—nunquam nisi in desperatione suprema contigit ulli; nisi abuniverso exercitu servato decreta—eadem vocatur obsidionalis—dabatur hæc viridi e gramine, decerpto inde ubi obsessos servasset aliquis—Ipsum Augustum cum M. Cicerone Consulem, idibus Septembribus Senatus obsidionali donavit, &c. Vid. Plin. Nat. 22. c. 3, 4, 5, 6.

fore, had not been given above eight times from the foundation of Rome: but with the oppression of its liberty, all its honours were servilely prostituted to the will of the reigning monarch.

Soon after Cicero's consulship, he was made proconsul of Asia; or, as Appian says, of Syria; one of the most considerable provinces of the empire: from which time we find no farther mention of him in hisory. He died, probably, soon after; before a maturity of age and experience had given him the opportunity of retrieving the reproach of his intemperance, and distinguishing himself in the councils of the state: but, from the honours already mentioned, it is evident that his life, though blemished by some scandal, yet was not void of dignity: and, amidst all the vices with which he is charged, he is allowed to have retained his father's wit, and politeness.*

There are two stories related of him, which shew, that his natural courage and high spirit were far from being subdued by the ruin of his party and fortunes: for being in company with some friends, where he had drunk very hard, in the heat of wine and passion, he threw a cup at the head of Agrippa; who, next to Augustus, bore the chief sway in Rome.† He was provoked to it, probably, by some dispute in politics, or insult on the late champions, and vanquished cause of the republic. At another time, during his government of Asia, one Cestius, who was afterwards prætor, a flatterer of the times, and a reviler of his father, having the assurance to come one day to his table, Cicero, after he had inquired his name, and understood that it was the man who used to insult the memory of his father, and declare that he knew nothing of polite letters, ordered him to be taken away, and publicly whipped.‡

* Qui nihil ex paterno ingenio habuit, præter urbanitatem. M. Senec Suasor. 6.
† Marcoque Agrippæ a temulento scyphum impactum. Plin. Hist. Nat. 14. 22.
‡ M. Senec. Suasor. 6.

His nature seems to have been gay, frank, and generous; peculiarly turned to arms and martial glory; to which, by the unhappy fate of his country, he had been trained very young; and at an age that is commonly dedicated to the arts of peace and studies of learning, had served, with much honour to himself, in three successive wars, the most considerable in all history—of Pharsalia, Philippi, and Sicily. If his life, therefore, did not correspond with the splendour of his father's, it seems chargeable to his misfortune rather than his fault; and to the miserable state of the times, which allowed no room for the attainment of his father's honours, or the imitation of his virtues; but if he had lived in better times, and a free republic, though he would not have been so eminent a scholar, or orator, or statesman, as his father, yet he would have excelled him, probably, in that character, which conferred a more substantial power and dazzling glory, the fame of a brave and accomplished general.

The characters of Q. Cicero, the brother, of his son Quintus, and of Atticus, have been so frequently touched in the course of this history, that there is but little occasion to add any thing more about them. The two first, as we have already said, upon the news of their being proscribed, took their leave of Cicero in his flight towards the sea, and returned to Rome, in order to furnish themselves with money and other necessaries for a voyage to Macedonia. They hoped to have executed this before the proscription could take effect, or to lie concealed, at least for a short time, in the city, without the danger of a discovery: but the diligence of Antony's emissaries, and the particular instructions that they had received to make sure of the Ciceros, eluded all their caution and hopes of concealment. The son was found out the first; who is said to have been more solicitous for the preservation of his father, than to provide for his own

safety: upon his refusal to discover where his father lay hid, he was put to the rack by the soldiers; till the father, to rescue his son from torture, came out from his hiding place, and voluntarily surrendered himself; making no other request to his executioners, than that they would dispatch him the first of the two. The son urged the same petition, to spare him the misery of being the spectator of his father's murder; so that the assassins, to satisfy them both, taking each of them apart, killed them, by agreement, at the same time.*

As to Atticus, the difficulty of the times in which he lived, and the perpetual quiet that he enjoyed in them, confirm what has already been observed of him, that he was a perfect master of the principles of his sect, and knew how to secure that chief good of an Epicurean life, his private ease and safety. One would naturally imagine, that his union with Cicero and Brutus, added to the fame of his wealth, would have involved him, of course, in the ruin of the proscription; he himself was afraid of it, and kept himself concealed for some time: but without any great reason; for, as if he had foreseen such an event and turn of things, he had always paid a particular court to Antony; and in the time even of his disgrace, when he was driven out of Italy, and his affairs thought desperate, did many eminent services to his friends at Rome: and above all, to his wife and children; whom he assisted, not only with his advice, but with his money also, on all occasions of their distress: so that when Antony came to Rome, in the midst of the massacre, he made it his first care to find out Atticus; and no sooner learned where he was, than he wrote him word, with his own hand, to lay aside all fears, and come to him immediately; and assigned him a guard to protect him from any insult or violence of the soldiers.†

* Dio, p. 333. App. 601. Plut. in Cic.

† Atticus, cum Ciceronis intima familiaritate uteretur, amicissimus esse Bruto; non modo nihil iis indulsit ad Antonium violandum, sed e contrario familiares ejus

It must be imputed, likewise, to the same principle of Atticus's caution, and a regard to his safety, that, after so long and intimate a correspondence of letters with Cicero, on the most important transactions of that age, of which there are sixteen books of Cicero's still remaining, yet not a single letter of Atticus's was ever published: which can hardly be charged to any other cause, but his having withdrawn them from Tiro, after Cicero's death, and suppressed them with a singular care; lest, in that revolution of affairs, and extinction of the public liberty, they should ever be produced to his hurt, or the diminution of his credit with their new masters.

But his interest with the reigning powers was soon established on a more solid foundation than that of his personal merit, by the marriage of his only daughter with M. Agrippa: which was first proposed and brought about by Antony. This introduced him into the friendship and familiarity of Augustus, whose minister and favourite Agrippa was; and to whom he himself became afterwards nearly allied, by the marriage of his grand-daughter with his successor Tiberius.* Thus he added dignity to his quiet; and lived to a good old age, in the very manner in which he wished, happy and honourable; and remote from all trouble or the apprehension of danger. But that he still lives in the fame and memory of ages, is entirely owing to the circumstance of his having been Cicero's friend; for this, after all, was the chief honour of his life: and as Seneca truly observed, it was the epistles of Cicero which preserved him from oblivion; and nei-

ex urbe profugientes, quantum potuit, texit—ipsi autem Fulviæ, cum litibus distineretur—sponsor omnium rerum fuerit—itaque ad adventum Imperatorum de foro decesserat, timens proscriptionem—Antonius autem—ei, cum requisisset, ubinam esset, sua manu scripsit, ne timeret, statimque ad se veniret—ac ne quid periculum incideret—præsidium ei misit. Corn. Nep. in vit. Attic. x.

* Atque harum nuptiarum, non enim est celandum, conciliator fuit Antonius. [Ib. 12.] Nata est autem Attico neptis ex Agrippa. Hanc Cæsar vix anniculam Tiberio Claudio Neroni, Drusilla nato, privigno suo despondit. Quæ conjunctio necessitudinem eorum sanxit. Ib. 19.

ther his son Agrippa, nor grandson Tiberius, nor great grandson Drusus, would have been of any service to him, if Cicero's name, by drawing Atticus's along with it, had not given him an immortality.*

* Nomen Attici perire Ciceronis epistolæ non sinunt. Nihil illi profuisset gener Agrippa et Tiberius progener, et Drusus pronepos: inter tam magna nomina taceetur, nisi Cicero illum applicuisset. Senec. Ep. 21.

THE END.

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